

APRIL 1, 1991 \$2.50

U.S. CAMPUSES: The New Intolerance

TIME

Law and Disorder

Why cops turn violent



724404 1



Being an Acura engineer requires a very strong mind. A very vivid imagination. And, perhaps most important, a very short memory. After all, had our engineers dwelled on all the praise given to the first-generation Legend—making *Car and Driver's* Ten Best list three straight years and being named *Motor Trends* 1987 Import Car of the Year—they might have been content to give the 1991 Legend just a few minor improvements. Instead, they started from scratch. And gave

© 1993 Acura Division of American Honda Motor Co., Inc. Acura and Legend are trademarks of Honda Motor Co., Ltd.

FORGET EVERYTHING
YOU'VE HEARD
ABOUT THE ACURA LEGEND.
OUR ENGINEERS DID.



the new Legend a longitudinally mounted, 200-horsepower, 3.2-liter V-6. A redesigned double-wishbone suspension that improves handling and road feel. And a more ergonomic interior, with driver's side and available passenger's side air bags. Improvements that, along with hundreds of others, make the new Legend more memorable than ever. Call 1-800-TO-ACURA for more information and the nearest dealer.



ACURA
PRECISION CRAFTED PERFORMANCE

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

NATION: Law and disorder on the beat

Patrolling the mean streets can be a dangerous and dehumanizing task for police officers. Drawing the line between necessary force and deliberate brutality is perhaps the toughest part of the job.

► **Community-policing** programs are putting cops back on the sidewalk. **16**

BUSINESS: Deceit

pervaded an audacious global bank that touched Jimmy Carter and Manuel Noriega, among others. **54**

IDEAS: A troubling

number of teachers regard America's history as racist, sexist and classist. **66**

10 Critics' Voices	73 Video
15 Grapevine	79 Music
34 World	80 Sport
60 Law	81 People
61 Environment	82 Essay
61 Milestones	
64 Medicine	Cover:
65 Science	Photograph by
69 Press	Mark Peterson—
72 Show Business	J.B. Pictures

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly for \$61.88 per year, by The Time Inc. Magazine Company. Principal Office: Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020-1393. Reginald K. Brack Jr., President; Joseph A. Ripp, Treasurer; Harry M. Johnston, Secretary. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. © 1991 The Time Inc. Magazine Company. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to TIME, P.O. Box 30601, Tampa, Fla. 33630-0601. For subscription queries, call Customer Service at 1-800-843-TIME (8463). □ □ □ □





Antigang officers in Portland, Ore., subdue a suspect: even in routine arrests, some force is often called for

FROM THE PUBLISHER

Investigative reporter. The words conjure up grizzled newsmen in dark trench coats meeting at midnight with "Deep Throat" sources. As professional journalists know, such glamorous notions are seldom accurate. Yet for *TIME* correspondents Jonathan Beaty and Sam Gwynne, who together unearthed and wrote last month's story on the scandal engulfing the Bank of Credit & Commerce International and this week's special report on the B.C.C.I. as well, the reality of chasing the yarn was as thrilling as the best detective fiction.

The story began in February while Beaty was having dinner with a trusted source in San Francisco. When the source mentioned possible illegal activities involving the B.C.C.I., Beaty immediately sensed a potential big story. "I was scribbling it all down on cocktail napkins, to the point where I had to keep asking the waiter for more napkins," Beaty recalls. "It first seemed unbelievable, but then almost all of it turned out to be true."

As the complexity and scope of the scandal became apparent, Beaty asked Detroit bureau chief Gwynne, a former banker and the author of *Selling Money*, a book about the international debt crisis, to become the other half of a reporting-writing team. Gwynne talked to federal regulatory agencies and banking sources in the U.S., while Beaty followed the B.C.C.I. paper trail to Atlanta, where he interviewed Bert Lance, and London, where he paid a visit to Scotland Yard. At the same time, *TIME* correspondents in bureaus around the world were tracking down leads in 11 countries, often going at several simultaneously. "This is by far the most exciting story I've ever worked on," says Gwynne. "It seemed as though every door we opened led down yet another bizarre trail."



Beaty tracking the paper trail in New York City

"The story first seemed unbelievable, but then almost all of it turned out to be true."

Beaty got the same exhilaration from orchestrating the worldwide effort. "Investigative reporting is usually a rather lonely job," he says. "But in this case, because it was a truly global story, we were calling on our correspondents around the world."

When he was finally finished with the story, Jonathan pulled on his dark blue overcoat and headed out into the night. It seems the modern global electronic investigative journalist doesn't own a trench coat.

Robert L. Miller

A Short Quiz for America's Executives

1. Would you like to help disadvantaged young people get an education—and a job?

☐ YES ☐ NO

2. Does your company have excess inventory, services or assets that could be used by colleges?

☐ YES ☐ NO

3. Could your company use a tax deduction for qualified inventory donations?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If so, EAL's College Opportunity Program may be for you. EAL targets talented youngsters before they enter their freshman year of high school, then mentors them for four years until they graduate.

How does it work? EAL trades your excess goods and services to a college for tuition scholarships in your name. And the students could intern with you in the summer as part of the package. When they graduate from college, you are the first in line to recruit them.

The result? You get a tax write-off for the donations. And the kids get a leg up with their education. Not bad!

Many of America's top corporations are already committed to EAL.

Why not join them?



Educational Assistance Ltd., Inc.

For information contact:

Peter Roskam
Executive Director
(708) 690-0010
P.O. Box 3021
Glen Ellyn, IL 60138



**THANKS TO
MODERN SCIENCE,
THIS 12-OUNCE
BOTTLE CAN
HOLD OVER 10,000
GALLONS.**



Recycling gave over 28 billion empties a fresh start last year. This year, with your help, more bottles and cans will serve over and over.



Help establish scholarships for environmental education by contributing to: The Environmental Challenge Fund, Radio City Station, P.O. Box 1138 NY NY 10101-1138. An environmental message from BBDO New York.

LETTERS

LIBERATION OF KUWAIT

"Let's hope the U.S. can stand proud without getting cocky."

Anne Carter
Brandywine, Md.



We should move quickly to alleviate the suffering of Iraq and Kuwait [THE GULF WAR, March 11]. The U.S. as a nation must address its responsibility. Seventeen million Iraqis—civilians and soldiers—had absolutely no role in Saddam Hussein's decision to attack and brutalize the people of another nation, yet they are the blameless victims of President George Bush's actions to liberate Kuwait.

Doug Thompson
Sacramento

Sadly, sanctions do not always work. Then someone has to have the courage to tell a tyrant "Enough!" or we will find ourselves with nothing to live for. Congratulations to Bush for telling Saddam "Enough!" and in the process braving public censure. I hope Bush continues to display the same courage when executing the (now) global responsibilities that come with being President of the "senior partner" of the U.N.

Jose Antonio M. Lanuza
Djakarta

The justification for the loss of tens of thousands of lives and billions of dollars in destroyed property was that the U.S. needed to demonstrate to the world that aggres-

sion is not a successful strategy. Unfortunately, the real message was that force gets you what you want. Our military "victory" is a setback in the long-term struggle to lessen belligerency in our world.

David Rath
Hood River, Ore.

To those who advocate peace at any price: it's easy to appease the tiger—just let him devour you.

Marie Ottiker
Lima

Now that the adrenaline level has peaked and those gnawing doubts are back, let's hope the U.S. can stand proud without getting cocky. It would be easy to slip into the role of world bully in the name of morality. We should remind ourselves that this time luck was on our side.

Anne Carter
Brandywine, Md.

I wonder if some small part of Desert Storm's overwhelming triumph wasn't a result of our soldiers' clear heads, thanks to the absence of alcohol and drugs.

Jeanne Hewitt
Harker Heights, Texas

Oil's well that ends well.

Bill Heath
Boise

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf is a genuine hero. He meets every requirement for an American patriot. I pray that he will remain outside the political arena.

Anne B. Johnson
Stockton, Ill.

Bush's 1988 campaign alienated me totally. But if Bush can become one-tenth the leader in domestic affairs that he has proved to be in the gulf crisis, I'll put the animosity aside and vote for him in '92.

Bill Sanders
Tustin, Calif.

I am not proud that Americans were sent to the other side of the world and had to kill others. But I am proud that they were brave enough to go, and thankful that these men and women are coming home.

Ric Berrong
Portland, Ore.

Israel didn't lose the war; Iraq did. Give the P.L.O. and its "dispossessed" a home in Iraq, for heaven's sake.

Ginni Brown
Fort Myers Beach, Fla.

Correction

Our article "A Man You Could Do Business With" [THE GULF WAR, March 11], which gave a brief overview of U.S. relations with Iraq, reported that Iowa Sena-

tor Charles E. Grassley attended a meeting in Baghdad with Saddam Hussein in April 1990. He did not.

Messages for the Media

Those who criticize the media for reporting from Baghdad have a limited imagination [THE GULF WAR, March 11]. Pool journalists who attended briefings heard military-information specialists describe smart bombs hitting bridges, communications centers and tanks, and then dutifully relayed the same to the American public. TV viewers saw the censored accounts from Baghdad that showed the results of "dumb" bombs that hit shopping areas, apartments and buses. The two versions taken together gave us a more complete truth. We should be grateful.

Clarence Albers
Valparaiso, Ind.

There seems to have been a conspiracy of silence on the part of the media regarding casualties in the gulf war. How many thousands of women and children were killed or wounded in allied bombing raids?

Michael P. Chew
Stuttgart, Germany

You curiously neglect to mention that the media are owned by private, profit-driven corporations. They need to sell merchandise, but they shouldn't use the First Amendment as a marketing tool. Too often, the images and articles meant to stir powerful emotions are those getting the biggest play. Pardon us if we don't blindly accept that the TV producer and print editor will present a balanced picture.

Pearl Furman
San Francisco

How's this for the newest oxymoron: respected journalist.

Clifford Henkle
Merced, Calif.

Don't Knock the Doors?

Rock star Jim Morrison's style may have been pretentious, as your critic Richard Corliss suggests in his review of the movie *The Doors* [CINEMA, March 11], but his group's music was not. The Doors' compositions, extremely complex with beautiful harmony, show absolute genius. The true reason for their success and continued popularity: their music.

Michael Wedell
Kolding, Denmark

The songs of Herman's Hermits, Paul Revere and the Raiders, the Monkees and the Bee Gees were all negligible, but for Corliss to say the Doors were musically "close to negligible" is insane.

Alan W. Stark
Concord, Calif.

Quick, do you know
the first name
in microprocessors?

_____ **486™**

_____ **386**

_____ **386sx™**

Morrison was another garden-variety drunk, and his fans (including me) bought into his alcoholic drama. If *The Doors* is a provocative and flawed movie, the same can be said of Morrison's life: it ended without redemption.

Jon C. Slade
Pasadena, Calif.

The Punishing Cult of Beauty

I was interested in your story "The Bad Side of Looking Good" describing Naomi Wolf's book *The Beauty Myth* [IDEAS, March 4], but I found her thesis that "discussions of feminine beauty are actually about undermining women's achievements" to be antediluvian and anti-male. Any woman who feels this way is obviously not as secure with her own femininity as men are about her accomplishments.

Philip Marques
Voorhees, N.J.

One of my personal heroines, Betty Friedan, who dismissed Wolf's book as an "obsolete rehash," seems to have missed the point. Friedan's endorsement of enjoying fashion without becoming a slave to it is not what has brought women anorexia, nose jobs for graduation presents or an ideal of physical perfection so bizarre that even skinny models believe they have fat thighs. I think Wolf's suggestion for women to eschew cosmetics in favor of better day care is too extreme. But if Friedan started us on the road to liberation, Wolf is obviously pointing out some reasons why we have not yet arrived.

Mary Jeanne Hawes
Mission Hills, Kans.

If all the men were suddenly beamed up to Jupiter, do you suppose that women would still rat their hair, paint their faces and wear horrid, see-through, push-up garments? I don't think so. At 5 ft. 9 in., weighing in at 110 lbs. with waist-length auburn hair, I am not all that hard to look at. Consequently, I find, as did Wolf, that most of my achievements are attributed to my looks, not my mind. Men see me as a plaything, not a valuable part of our society. I don't want my generation to sit back and meekly accept male-generated ideals. We need direction, and Wolf's book could be key in re-establishing feminism.

Trischa Armstrong
Santa Ana, Calif.

Child-Abuse Charges

Your title "Why Children Lie in Court" was misleading [BEHAVIOR, March 4]. Most experts think children rarely lie about sexual abuse. Researchers have found that only 1% to 2% of sexual-abuse allegations made by children are false. In fact, studies show that almost 75% of children initially deny valid allegations of sexu-

al victimization. The vast majority of false charges are made by adults. A more appropriate title for your piece would have been: "Why Adults Lie in Court."

Gina B. Hardin
Child Protection Team
Gainesville, Fla.

In his article, Jerome Cramer mentioned a study I conducted with Dr. Karen Saywitz and others on children's reports of genital contact, but he failed to highlight the fact that the children's most common error by far was underreporting genital touch. Only by asking direct questions did we get them to reveal that a physician had touched their genitals. In general, they were highly resistant to suggestions of abuse. None of the studies cited by Cramer prove that children often make unfounded sex-abuse charges or that prosecutors prod them to lie in court. We do need to protect innocent adults from false allegations and take care when interviewing child witnesses; we have been learning over the years how best to conduct valid interviews. But it has been society's bent to doubt rather than believe sex-crime victims.

Gail S. Goodman, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Psychology
State University of New York at Buffalo
Buffalo

As the author of the book *Wounded Innocents*, which deals with the war against child abuse, I believe Cramer's report should be required reading for child-protection officials and judges. It sheds light on a topic where, until now, there has been mostly heat. The insistence that children don't lie about sexual abuse is part of the larger hysteria over child maltreatment. One study found that in 23% of sexual-abuse cases the accusation was false and that in an additional 24% there was insufficient information to determine the truth. Often false allegations result not from lies but from honest misunderstandings. But investigating these accusations can traumatize thousands of children. Frequently, they are needlessly separated from their parents and thrust into a chaotic foster-care system, where they may face assault, rape or even murder. The problem of child abuse is serious and real. It is the solutions that have been phony.

Richard Wexler
Albany

Your story says that a study conducted by the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry "found that in custody disputes involving charges of sex abuse, as many as 36% of the allegations were later proved to be untrue." The academy does not conduct clinical studies. The finding appeared in an article published in the academy's scientific journal by an author who had documented four false allegations in the cases of 11 children reported

to have been sexually abused by noncustodial parents in the context of child custody and visitation disputes. This finding—four out of 11 children—was the basis for the 36% figure. By applying it as a generalization, Cramer makes an error with potentially terrible implications for children who are abused. A child's accusation that sexual abuse has occurred must always be taken seriously and followed by a properly conducted clinical evaluation that should ascertain the truth as well as protect the child. Neither of these goals is served when children claiming to have been abused are automatically suspected of lying.

John E. Schowalter, M.D.
President, American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry
Washington

It Was Just Like . . .

Military buffs among our readers reached back in history to find parallels to the battle for the liberation of Kuwait. William Phillips of Northville, Mich., commented that "the concealed flank movement used so effectively by General Norman Schwarzkopf was employed 126 years ago by another great American general, Robert E. Lee, who commanded the Confederate troops at Chancellorsville, Va. Lee divided his army in the face of a numerically superior force, marched around the Union right flank and attacked with stunning success. One eyewitness described how the Union army 'fled in the wildest confusion, leaving the field strewn with arms, accoutrements, clothing, caissons and field pieces.'" A precedent for the low number of deaths among the attacking forces was noted by Edmond Francis McGill of San Rafael, Calif., in the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. McGill recalled, "The Athenian army of 11,000 utterly defeated the larger Persian army, inflicting thousands of casualties upon the Persians and losing only 192 of its own."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to:

TIME Magazine Letters
Time & Life Building • Rockefeller Center
New York, New York 10020
Fax number: (212) 522-9601

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone, and may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

Subscription Renewals?
Gift Subscriptions?
Address Changes?

TIME

is ready to make time for you.

Call toll-free
1-800-843-TIME

Time's up.

Intel 486™

Intel 386™

Intel 386SX™

You scored perfectly. Because Intel is the world's leader in microprocessor design and development. It's also the company that introduced the first microprocessor. And when it comes to investing money into the technology, Intel is first again. Giving you the assurance that with an Intel microprocessor inside your computer, you'll have the power and compatibility to take you into the future.

So if you want all that working for you, make sure the 386SX, 386 or 486 computer you choose has the first name in microprocessors inside. Intel.

intel
The Computer Inside.™

CRITICS' VOICES

BY TIME'S REVIEWERS. Compiled by William Tynan



MOVIES

KING RALPH. John Goodman is the Ralph Kramden of the '90s—but he *enjoys* being a slob. Have fun watching him raise a royal ruckus as a Las Vegas lounge singer who unaccountably becomes King of England. Writer-director David Ward sustains this merry, guileless fable with near perfect pitch.

THE HARD WAY. It's not just cars that collide in John Badham's exhilarating action comedy. It's fantasy vs. reality, laid-back movie actor vs. angry cop, the easy readings of Michael J. Fox vs. the bust-a-blood-vessel intensity of James Woods—in short, it's L.A. vs. N.Y.



TELEVISION

TWIN PEAKS (ABC, returning March 28, 9 p.m. EST). From breakthrough hit to waning cult phenomenon in barely a year. David Lynch's chronicle of life in the mysterious northwest returns for what may be its final six-episode run.

HOUSE OF CARDS (PBS, debuting March 31, 9 p.m. on most stations). A Tory insider (Ian Richardson) plots to eliminate his rivals in a post-Thatcher government. This four-part *Masterpiece Theater* import, based on a novel written before Maggie's demise, is the savviest political drama since *A Very British Coup*.

CTV: THE COMEDY NETWORK (starting April 1). Two strug-

gling cable channels—the Comedy Channel and HA!—pool their laughs and launch a new network. Happily, they've salvaged *Mystery Science Theater 3000*.



MUSIC

MARY CHAPIN-CARPENTER: SHOOTING STRAIGHT IN THE DARK (Columbia). In this exceptional country-and-western debut, Carpenter sounds almost too fragile for the genre; but her lyrics have a poignancy that's positively resilient, and her tunes are gossamer.

CHARLES ROSEN PLAYS CHOPIN (Globe). Rosen has been the victim of his own encyclopedic brilliance. Because he's so gifted a musicologist, linguist and aesthete, critics invariably dismiss his piano playing as too "cerebral." Yet the warmth, elasticity and insight he brings to these 24 ma-

zurkas, the richest expression of Chopin's genius, should put such nonsense to rest.



THEATER

A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN. Virginia Woolf's feminist manifesto breathes life, and fire, in Eileen Atkins' superb one-woman show off-Broadway.

FORGIVING TYPHOID MARY. Oscar winner Estelle Parsons stars in a thoughtful dramatic-history-lesson at the George Street Playhouse in New Brunswick, N.J.



BOOKS

SCUM by Isaac Bashevis Singer (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; \$19.95). The Nobel laureate turns in a typically rollicking,

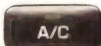
THE CELICA GT EXTRA VALUE PACKAGE CAN SAVE YOU UP TO \$800 ON THESE OPTIONS.*



For those occasions when the road isn't entertainment enough, there's an electronically tuned AM/FM stereo with auto-reverse cassette and six speakers.



Power windows and door locks put even more control right at your fingertips.



Air conditioning makes being cool a breeze.



Cruise control opens up the pleasure of the open road.



Floor mats you'll go to the wall for.



This is one spoiler that will spoil you with what it does for Celica's looks.

hectic tale about a man who returns to his native Poland in 1906 looking for affectionate women. He finds plenty, or perhaps they find him.

WAR FEVER by J.G. Ballard (Farrar, Straus & Giroux; \$18.95). These 14 odd, unsettling tales again prove that Ballard, widely known as a writer of science fiction, is really a surrealist. Once viewed through his prose, the world seems a strangely different place.



ART

THE WEST AS AMERICA: REINTERPRETING IMAGES OF THE FRONTIER, 1820-1920, National Museum of American Art, Washington. For Manifest Destiny, the positive perception of the American frontier was the greatest advertisement for going West. This exhibition of 164 paint-

ings, sculptures, graphics and photographs explores the effect such imagery had and the misconceptions it spread. Through July 7.

BRITISH PHOTOGRAPHY FROM THE THATCHER YEARS, Museum of Modern Art, New York City. Mean pictures of a mean place, taken by five photographers whose cameras were loaded with acid. A blistering portrait of years during which the haves had it all, the have-nots did not, and parts of England's green and lovely land were as bleak as tar pits. Through April 28.



ETCETERA

NEW ORLEANS JAZZ AND HERITAGE FESTIVAL. More than 3,000 artists gather in the Crescent City for one of the world's greatest celebrations of jazz, blues, R. and B.,

Zydeco and gospel music, headlined by Miles Davis, B.B. King, John Lee Hooker, Wynton Marsalis, Harry Connick Jr. and the Neville Brothers. April 26 through May 5.

DANCE THEATER OF HARLEM. After a six-month

layoff, this splendid troupe is back at Washington's Kennedy Center. The dancers are on an Alberto Ginastera kick, with two premieres set to the Argentine composer's scores, one by Billy Wilson, the other by Glen Tetley. March 26 through April 7.

KOSHER VINTAGES

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE JEWISH—to paraphrase a once popular rye-bread ad—to enjoy kosher wines these days. Yes, those heavy, sweet, cut-it-with-a-knife concoctions made from Concord grapes are still around, but they now share shelf space with a growing array of dry, sophisticated table wines, from Sonoma County Chardonnays to Italian Chiantis, that may be certified kosher for Passover but are eminently drinkable all year. Kosher wines must be made by Sabbath-observant Jews under rabbinical supervision to ensure that nothing forbidden by dietary laws contaminates the process. The best can match their nonkosher counterparts in competitions. The March 31 issue of the *Wine Spectator*, surveying 54 kosher wines, notes that California Cabernet Sauvignons by Hagafen and Gan Eden scored 91 and 90 (out of 100) in blind tastings. The Herzog-label California and European varietals are usually reliable. A newcomer to watch is Teal Lake Cellars: its 1990 Mendocino Pinot Noir has the youthful brightness of a Beaujolais.

NOW GO EXERCISE YOUR OPTIONS.



"I love what you do for me."

 **TOYOTA**

Camry is a registered trademark of Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc. © 1991 Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc. All rights reserved. Camry is a registered trademark of Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc. All rights reserved.

Your cheeseburger box will be around even longer.

Most things made on this planet last less than a few centuries. But styrofoam is forever.

It will never decompose. Never disintegrate. Never go away. And neither will the garbage problems it creates, unless we find solutions.

Your donation can help. Send your check to The Environmental Challenge Fund, Radio City Station, Box 1138, New York, NY 10101-1138, and help build scholarships for environmental education.

Or the most enduring monument left on earth by our civilization may be a mountain of trash.

Created as a public service by Sullivan Higdon & Sink/Wichita



WEDNESDAYS ON NBC 

EUROPE via UTOPIA



WELCOME TO *Le CLUB*
BUSINESS CLASS



YES, THERE ARE THOSE FOR WHOM BUSINESS TRAVEL means getting to a destination, simple as that. No expectations. No romance. No more enchantment than life at the office. — Then, there are those who've discovered that the journey can be an interlude from the corporate world. A sanctuary from the hubbub. — Not coincidentally, they've likely discovered *Le Club* on Air France. Where the level of service far exceeds the realm of the everyday. Your choice of three exquisite meals, the delightful creations of chefs, sous chefs, and sauciers. A vast complement of fine

wines and spirits. Soft, spacious
recliners that fully adjust to your
legs, neck, and lower back. —

Perhaps you are bound for destinations beyond Paris? In that case, Air France offers convenient connections to over 100 cities throughout Europe. Along with, mind you, mileage credit on United, Continental, USAir, and America West frequent flyer programs. — For complete *Le Club* information, call your travel agent, or 1-800-AF-PARIS. We promise only to indulge you in every way possible. Even if we have to go out of our way to do it.

THE FINE ART
OF FLYING


AIR FRANCE

GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Sidney Urquhart



White House To IRS: Hands Off The Rich

Revenge is a dish best served cold—and on White House china. While drafting its recently submitted budget, the Bush Administration secretly proposed that the IRS target its stringent audits not on wealthy individuals and companies (whose lawyers can often stall a case for years) but on middle- and lower-income taxpayers (who generally pay up without protest and provide immediate revenue). IRS Commissioner Fred Goldberg rejected the cash-now plan, calling it "no-good tax policy." But his request to spend an additional \$76 million to catch rich tax cheats was pared down to a pumy \$6 million. Could it be that the President remembers the pain of coughing up to the taxman? He was furious when an IRS audit in 1984 forced him to pay nearly \$200,000 in taxes, interest and penalties on the sale of an \$843,000 house in Houston. In 1988 George Bush ridiculed Michael Dukakis' plan to catch more tax avoiders and railed against "putting an IRS agent in every kitchen." What he really meant, it seems, is that he didn't want a taxman in every boardroom.

Stop Us Before We Vote Again

Last year all 55 Democratic Senators voted as one in a failed attempt to override President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act. So what's holding up Ted Kennedy from introducing a new version of the bill this year? The problem: a mini-rebellion by at least half a dozen first-term Senators who

are up for re-election and terrified that Republican challengers will smear them for supporting "racial quotas." Chuck Robb of Virginia, chairman of the Democratic campaign committee, confirms that he is "working with several people for a bill that can get signed." Translation: the vulnerable legislators are agitating for a compromise bill that's closer to the White House version than the measure endorsed by the Democratic leadership. The endangered Democrats cite a recent series of polls indicating that a majority of the public resents any law that is perceived as establishing strong preferences for minority groups.

There's No Place Like Jail

When Colombian police began cracking down on the narcotics trade, traffickers coined a defiant slogan: "Better a tomb in

Colombia than a cell in the United States." Now that drug kingpins can avoid extradition under a new plea-bargaining agreement, a cell in Colombia has become a very attractive compromise. Since Medellín drug-cartel leaders Jorge, Fabio and Juan David Ochoa surrendered to Colombian authorities in recent months, they have been housed in a custom-tailored facility. Angry U.S. drug-enforcement officials complain that the Ochoa brothers are enjoying push accommodations equipped with fancy furniture, stereos and cable television.

Here Come the Cubans, Part 2

Bush Administration officials are bracing themselves for Fidel Castro's next "dirty trick": the lifting of age restrictions on travel abroad. Currently, only older Cubans (men over 45, women over 40) are allowed to visit relatives in the U.S. The State Department knows it will be flooded with requests for tourist visas if the age limit is

lifted. "The Cubans are trying to embarrass us," grouses one official. The U.S. suspects that the dictator plans to repeat the 1980 Mariel boatlift, in which he exported malcontents and hardened criminals to southern Florida. "We've been on the blacklist because we don't allow free travel," responds a Havana policymaker. "Now we are doing what they demand, and still we're bad guys."

The Drug Dog All-Star Squad

Are your kids already bored by their Desert Storm bubble-gum cards? Get ready for the next wave in kiddie collectibles: cards featuring the U.S. Customs Service's drug-sniffing dogs. The 81-card set, which will be distributed by Customs Service officials nationwide, shows such canine stars as Nacho, Peaches and Solo in action poses. The back of each card lists the dog's breed, age, weight, tattoo number and biggest drug bust ("Nacho led police officers to a building that was found to contain 2,014 lbs. of marijuana").



It's Just Not Genteel to Spit

For a few months in 1988, the Seoul government urged South Koreans to refrain from shouldering their way through crowds, spitting in public and even eating dogs. But after the nation finished playing host to the summer Olympics, the rigorous campaign slackened off, and government officials have noticed that many citizens went back to their old antisocial ways. To combat the problem, a new month-long crackdown has been launched against expectorating, smoking in restricted areas, urinating in public and "behaving obnoxiously while intoxicated." On the first day of the program, police officials announced that exactly 57,294 people had been reprimanded nationwide, primarily for spitting and littering.

The G.O.P. Hit List

Confident of a presidential victory next year, Senate Republicans are also training their sights on the 56-44 Democratic majority. The top targets opposed using force against Iraq:



Brock Adams, Washington. The state's senior Senator has a bigger problem than a dovish stance: his alleged sexual encounter with the 24-year-old daughter of lifelong friends while his wife was out of town.

Wyche Fowler, Georgia. The brickbats tossed at Fowler and fellow Georgia Senator Sam Nunn for their peaceink stance are more likely to wound the folksy freshman. He's the one up for re-election, and he doesn't have Senator Sam's hawkish record.

Fritz Hollings, South Carolina. Once thought to be politically invincible, Hollings was roundly booed at a rally for returning Gulf soldiers. Polls indicate that Republican Governor Carroll Campbell, if he decides to run, stands a good chance of handing Hollings his first statewide-election loss in more than 30 years.

Barbara Mikulski, Maryland. This abrasive first-termer hasn't impressed the folks back home. Mikulski will have trouble winning back the support of conservative blue-collar voters who don't understand why she didn't support punching out Saddam Hussein.

Terry Sanford, North Carolina. The 73-year-old former college president has provided a soothing antidote to fellow Senator Jesse Helms, but the state's voters are none too pleased with his liberal voting record and meager legislative achievements.

EUROPE via UTOPIA



WELCOME TO *Le CLUB* BUSINESS CLASS

YES, THERE ARE THOSE FOR WHOM BUSINESS TRAVEL means getting to a destination, simple as that. No expectations. No romance. No more enchantment than life at the office. Then, there are those who've discovered that the journey can be an interlude from the corporate world. A sanctuary from the hubbub. Not coincidentally, they've likely discovered *Le Club* on Air France. Where the level of service far exceeds the realm of the everyday. Your choice of three exquisite meals, the delightful creations of chefs, sous chefs, and sauciers. A vast complement of fine



wines and spirits. Soft, spacious recliners that fully adjust to your legs, neck, and lower back.

Perhaps you are bound for destinations beyond Paris? In that case, Air France offers convenient connections to over 100 cities throughout Europe. Along with, mind you, mileage credit on United, Continental, USAir, and America West frequent flyer programs. For complete *Le Club* information, call your travel agent, or 1-800-AF-PARIS. We promise only to indulge you in every way possible. Even if we have to go out of our way to do it.

THE FINE ART
OF FLYING


AIR FRANCE

GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Sidney Urquhart



White House To IRS: Hands Off The Rich

Revenge is a dish best served cold—and on White House china. While drafting its recently submitted budget, the Bush Administration secretly proposed that the IRS target its stringent audits not on wealthy individuals and companies (whose lawyers can often stall a case for years) but on middle- and lower-income taxpayers (who generally pay up without protest and provide immediate revenue). IRS Commissioner Fred Goldberg rejected the cash-n-now plan, calling it "no-good tax policy." But his request to spend an additional \$76 million to catch rich tax cheats was pared down to a puny \$6 million. Could it be that the President remembers the pain of coughing up to the taxman? He was furious when an IRS audit in 1984 forced him to pay nearly \$200,000 in taxes, interest and penalties on the sale of an \$843,000 house in Houston. In 1988 George Bush ridiculed Michael Dukakis' plan to catch more tax avoiders and railed against "putting an IRS agent in every kitchen." What he really meant, it seems, is that he didn't want a taxman in every boardroom.

Stop Us Before We Vote Again

Last year all 55 Democratic Senators voted as one in a failed attempt to override President Bush's veto of the 1990 Civil Rights Act. So what's holding up Ted Kennedy from introducing a new version of the bill this year? The problem: a mini-rebellion by at least half a dozen first-term Senators who

are up for re-election and terrified that Republican challengers will smear them for supporting "racial quotas." Chuck Robb of Virginia, chairman of the Democratic campaign committee, confirms that he is "working with several people for a bill that can get signed." Translation: the vulnerable legislators are agitating for a compromise bill that's closer to the White House version than the measure endorsed by the Democratic leadership. The endangered Democrats cite a recent series of polls indicating that a majority of the public resents any law that is perceived as establishing strong preferences for minority groups.

There's No Place Like Jail

When Colombian police began cracking down on the narcotics trade, traffickers coined a deft slogan: "Better a tomb in

Colombia than a cell in the United States." Now that drug kingpins can avoid extradition under a new plea-bargaining agreement, a cell in Colombia has become a very attractive compromise. Since Medellín drug-cartel leaders Jorge, Fabio and Juan David Ochoa surrendered to Colombian authorities in recent months, they have been housed in a custom-tailored facility. Angry U.S. drug-enforcement officials complain that the Ochoa brothers are enjoying posh accommodations equipped with fancy furniture, stereos and cable television.

Here Come the Cubans, Part 2

Bush Administration officials are bracing themselves for Fidel Castro's next "dirty trick": the lifting of age restrictions on travel abroad. Currently, only older Cubans (men over 45, women over 40) are allowed to visit relatives in the U.S. The State Department knows it will be flooded with requests for tourist visas if the age limit is

lifted. "The Cubans are trying to embarrass us," grouses one official. The U.S. suspects that the dictator plans to repeat the 1980 Mariel boatlift, in which he exported malcontents and hardened criminals to southern Florida. "We've been on the blacklist because we don't allow free travel," responds a Havana policymaker. "Now we are doing what they demand, and still we're bad guys."

The Drug Dog All-Star Squad

Are your kids already bored by their Desert Storm bubble-gum cards? Get ready for the next wave in kiddie collectibles: cards featuring the U.S. Customs Service's drug-sniffing dogs. The 81-card set, which will be distributed by Customs Service officials nationwide, shows such canine stars as Nacho, Peaches and Solo in action poses. The back of each card lists the dog's breed, age, weight, tattoo number and biggest drug bust ("Nacho led police officers to a building that was found to contain 2,014 lbs. of marijuana").



It's Just Not Genteel to Spit

For a few months in 1988, the Seoul government urged South Koreans to refrain from shouldering their way through crowds, spitting in public and even eating dogs. But after the nation finished playing host to the summer Olympics, the rigorous campaign slackened off, and government officials have noticed that many citizens went back to their old antisocial ways. To combat the problem, a new month-long crackdown has been launched against expectorating, smoking in restricted areas, urinating in public and "behaving obnoxiously while intoxicated." On the first day of the program, police officials announced that exactly 57,294 people had been reprimanded nationwide, primarily for spitting and littering.

The G.O.P. Hit List

Confident of a presidential victory next year, Senate Republicans are also training their sights on the 56-44 Democratic majority. The top targets opposed using force against Iraq:



Brock Adams, Washington. The state's senior Senator has a bigger problem than a dovish stance: his alleged sexual encounter with the 24-year-old daughter of lifelong friends while his wife was out of town.

Wyche Fowler, Georgia. The brickbats tossed at Fowler and fellow Georgia Senator Sam Nunn for their peaceable stance are more likely to wound the folksy freshman. He's the one up for re-election, and he doesn't have Senator Sam's hawkish record.

Fritz Hollings, South Carolina. Once thought to be politically invincible, Hollings was roundly booed at a rally for returning gulf soldiers. Polls indicate that Republican Governor Carroll Campbell, if he decides to run, stands a good chance of handing Hollings his first statewide-election loss in more than 30 years.

Barbara Mikulski, Maryland. This abrasive first-term hasn't impressed the folks back home. Mikulski will have trouble winning back the support of conservative blue-collar voters who don't understand why she didn't support punching out Saddam Hussein.

Terry Sanford, North Carolina. The 73-year-old former college president has provided a soothing antidote to fellow Senator Jesse Helms, but the state's voters are none too pleased with his liberal voting record and meager legislative achievements.

● COVER STORIES

Rough Justice

After the outrage in Los Angeles, police find themselves on trial as Americans are worried that some officers may be going too far—much too far—in the midst of a brutal and brutalizing war

By LANCE MORROW



Every city has a kind of evil twin that looks like Beirut.

This shadow self is the city's own hypothetical disintegration, the awful promise of what will happen when the worst transpires. Civilization will come unstuck. Anarchy will break loose at last and weeds push up through the concrete, and the police will degenerate to a paramilitary tribe at war with other gangs that go howling through the wastelands like road warriors, blade runners.

The bad dream contains a few jagged particles of truth. Some American cities have come to look dangerously like their anti-selves: debts deepening, revenues inadequate, services falling apart, people sleeping in the streets, crime and drugs creating their elaborate, permanent reality.

As for the armed tribes, they have been at war for some time, though not in the better neighborhoods. They put in an appearance not long ago on a home videotape that a bystander made as the Los Angeles police were beating a motorist they had run to ground after a chase. Here was the lawlessness that the nightmare predicts: vivid, grainy, surreal.

Watching the videotape, thinking about the other police-brutality cases—the alleged fatal choking of a suspected car thief by five of New York City's finest, for example—Americans felt degrees of wonder, horror or, in some cases, disgust at the news media for undermining the police.

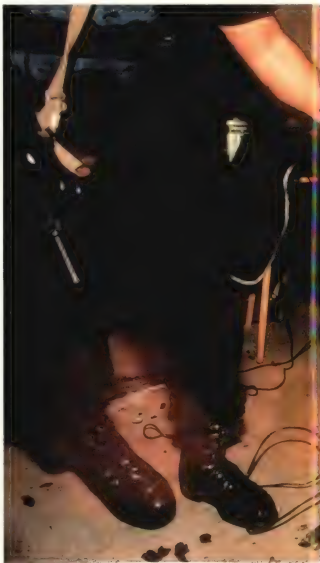
The lasting reaction, besides outrage of one kind or another, may have been a sense of being in the presence of a mystery. "Nothing human is alien to me," Terence said, but this gross, offhand brutality, dealt out by guardians of the law, seemed alien enough and disturbing on a fairly deep emotional and moral level.

The beating on the videotape goes on for long minutes, the suspect-victim unarmed, unresisting, crouched on the ground, the police not acting on some lashing impulse of the moment, but seeming desultory and methodical at the same time. Cops stroll around. It looks like an impromptu social occasion.

There is future shock and also an odd familiarity in the scene: it has some of the feel of a Southern lynching—an American throwback migrated to La La Land.

The mystery is always this: How does a group of otherwise normal people turn into a mob capable of this kind of savagery? One of the police officers who did the beating was described as a gentle family man.

The question has dimensions that are both social and personal. In Freudian terms, the law is supposed to perform the function of the superego, policing the wild and violent id. The



Beirut principle goes to work when the id takes over from the superego and puts on a blue uniform, when authority goes wild.

Most American police are decent men and women doing honorable service. It is partly for that reason that the transformation from group to mob, as in Los Angeles, is hard to understand. But the dangerous work that they do, for modest salaries, is also brutalizing. The American homicide rate has jumped from 5 per 100,000 population in 1960 to 9 per 100,000 in 1989. In big cities two-thirds of felony defendants have been arrested before, and about half of them had at least one prior conviction. Drug gangs are often armed with automatic weapons more lethal than the handguns the police carry. A career of confronting the vicious, conscienceless criminal-enemy frays the nerves. It drives police officers deeper into the solidarities of their professional tribe. There they find the support and understanding that they feel they rarely get elsewhere. The public, they think, prefers its innocence, does not really want to know the violent lengths to which cops sometimes go when trying to enforce the law.

George Kelling, a professor of criminal justice at North-

eastern University, suggests that the terms "war on crime" and "war on drugs" encourage and even demand an all-out attack by police upon criminals—no holding back, no quarter given. But like American soldiers in Vietnam, the police are fighting an unwinnable war, assuming large social responsibilities that belong more to politicians than to policemen; and as in Vietnam, atrocities are being committed, on both sides.

A group has a life of its own that is far more than, and bizarrely different from, the sum of the individuals in it. The group belongs to a different moral order from the individual. It has its appetites and impulses, its voice, its collective will and emotions and personality. It has a mind of its own that can be frightening and inexplicable, like a domesticated animal, a pit bull or rottweiler, that may turn unpredictably vicious, attacking the children, doing wild-animal things no one could foresee.

An individual's judgment, ordinarily sound and self-aware, may defer to the collective judgment in a group, where individual responsibility gets diffused, scattered among the many. Says R. Scott Tindale, associate professor of psychology at Chi-

cago's Loyola University: "Under normal circumstances, when you are deciding what to do, you have internal standards to check. When you are in a group setting, when you are less self-focused, you don't check these inner standards. You are more likely to check the standards around you." It takes a strong, poised character to wade against the currents of group will. Those cops who witnessed the Los Angeles beating, not participating but not objecting either, allowed themselves to be borne passively along by the stream of violence. Something of the same process may have occurred among the teenagers who went "wilding" in New York City's Central Park two years ago.

A secret of the transformation from group to mob: a few leaders incite the rest, knotting the rope, throwing it over the limb of a tree. The others allow themselves to be carried passively by the group purpose. Lynch mobs always armor themselves with a sense of their retributive righteousness. They also mean to exert social control by exemplary doses of terror, on the conceit that violence is the only language the victim understands.

Each atrocity has its own circumstances, its own atmosphere and triggers, its tribal antipathies and peer-group expectations. It is interesting that the one police officer who expressed some objection during the Los Angeles beating was a woman—a member of the California highway patrol, not the L.A.P.D. She was not entirely part of the men's club that was doing the pounding. ■

**Drug bust in Opa-Locka, Fla.:
Is it necessary force or brutality?**





Law and Disorder

For cops, fear and frustration are constants. Sometimes even the best of them snap under the pressure.

By RICHARD LACAYO



To watch the videotape of Los Angeles policemen kicking and clubbing Rodney King was to suddenly explore a dark corner of American life. For many police officers who fear that the incident could undermine their image of cool professionalism, the case quickly became an occasion for dismay, soul searching and a measure of defensiveness. For many citizens, particularly blacks and other minorities, it brought back bitter memories of

their own rough encounters with police. George Bush bluntly summarized the prevailing shock: "What I saw made me sick."

The sickening glare from that grisly scene has thrown light upon police brutality all across the country. Was the beating an aberration, as Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates insists? Or did it affirm yet again that many cops resort to violence, and even deadly force, when no threat to their safety can justify it? Is racism so pervasive among police that the fight against crime all too often becomes a war on blacks? Has the criminal-justice system,

which permits too many criminals to go free after serving only token sentences or none at all, become so ineffectual that officers feel the need to play judge and jury on the spot? Has police work become so dangerous that even well-meaning officers can snap under the pressure?

Those questions became more urgent last week as evidence grew that the officers involved in King's beating might have expected their behavior to be winked at, at least in their own department. In tapes of radio calls and computer records of police communications on the night of the attack,



Police chief Daryl Gates testifying this week before the Los Angeles city council about the beating of Rodney King, above

some of the officers involved could be heard swapping racist jokes and boasting to other cops about the beating. Their lighthearted exchanges, which they knew were being recorded, sound nothing like the words of men who fear they have done something reprehensible—or even something out of the ordinary. Two nurses at Pacifica Hospital, where King was taken after the beating, testified to a grand jury last week that the officers who assaulted King showed up later at the hospital room to taunt him. One allegedly told the victim, "We played a little hardball tonight, and you lost."

In the eyes of many outraged citizens in Los Angeles and elsewhere, responsibility for the beating rests with Chief Gates. Though he has rebuffed demands that he resign, a citizens' group last week began a push for a special election to undo what practically amounts to his lifetime appointment as leader of the nation's third largest police department. Almost unique among police chiefs, Gates cannot be dismissed by Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, himself a former L.A.P.D. lieutenant, or by a five-member police commission, except "for cause"—misconduct or willful neglect of duty.

Los Angeles is far from the only place where police play hardball, dispensing curbside justice with disturbing regularity, especially in crime-plagued ghetto neighborhoods and to people whose only offense is the color of their skins. Those who live outside such areas can usually ignore that reality. Fed up with violent street crime, they are often content to send in the police force and demand that it do whatever is necessary while they look the other way. But the Los Angeles beating has shaken such head-in-the-sand attitudes. A spate of brutality cases that normally would have attracted little attention made national news last week:

► In New York City law officers were indicted on murder charges in the Feb. 5 death by suffocation of a 21-year-old Hispanic man suspected of car theft. The officers were accused of having hit, kicked and choked Federico Pereira while he lay face down and perhaps hog-tied—his wrists cuffed behind his back while another set of cuffs bound his hands to one ankle.

► In Memphis a black county sheriff was convicted Friday of violating civil rights laws in the June 1989 choking death of Michael Gates, 28, a black drug suspect. Gates' body was covered with bruises in the shape of shoe prints.

► In Plainfield, N.J., 50 people demonstrated outside police headquarters, charging that a policeman beat Uriah Hannah, a 14-year-old black. Last Sunday Hannah and his friends were playing with a remote-controlled toy car on a sidewalk near his home. A motorist stopped short at the spot where the boys were playing, and a police cruiser ran into the rear of his car. Hannah's parents, whose older son allegedly committed



Police Sergeant Stacey Koon was one of four officers charged with felony assault



Rookie Timothy Wind, 30, joined the L.A. force just last year



Officers Ted Briseno, right, and Laurence Powell arrive at court

MARCH 3, 12:39 A.M. AFTER BREAKING UP A QUARREL THAT REPORTEDLY INVOLVED BLACKS, LOS ANGELES POLICEMEN LAURENCE M. POWELL AND TIMOTHY E. WIND USE THEIR PORTABLE COMMUNICATIONS COMPUTER TO CONTACT A TEAM OF OFFICERS ON A BURGLARY STAKEOUT:

"Sounds almost exciting as our last call . . . It was right out of Gorillas in the Mist."

THE STAKEOUT TEAM REPLIES:

"Hahahaha . . . let me guess who be the parties."

12:47 A.M. THE POLICE RADIO DISPATCHER ALERTS NEARBY SQUAD CARS THAT THE CALIFORNIA HIGHWAY PATROL IS PURSUING A WHITE HYUNDAI AT HIGH SPEED. MINUTES LATER POWELL AND WIND HELP APPREHEND THE DRIVER AND TWO PASSENGERS.

12:56 A.M. L.A.P.D. SERGEANT STACEY K. KOON NOTIFIES THE NIGHT WATCH COMMANDER AT THE FOOTHILL POLICE HEADQUARTERS THAT ONE SUSPECT HAS BEEN BEATEN BY THE ARRESTING OFFICERS:

"You just had a big-time use of force . . ."

THE WATCH COMMANDER REPLIES:

"Oh well . . . I'm sure the lizard didn't deserve it . . . haha."

1:12 A.M. POWELL AND WIND HAVE ANOTHER COMPUTER CHAT WITH THEIR FRIENDS ON THE BURGLARY STAKEOUT:

"Ooops."

"Ooops, what?"

"I haven't beaten anyone this bad in a long time."

"Oh not again . . . Why for you do that . . . I thought you agreed to chill out for a while . . ."

Nation



Demonstrators marched in Minneapolis to protest the police shooting of Tyrel Nelson, 17

suicide in police custody last year, charged that the officer jumped from his car, accused the teenager of obstructing traffic and at one point tried to choke him. His parents were arrested when they tried to intervene.

Skull-drumming tactics have an enduring and dismal place in police history, not least in the U.S., where accusations of brutality commonly accompany charges of racism. Many of the ghetto riots of the 1960s were prompted by police incidents. More recently, Miami has suffered five street uprisings in 10 years, all ignited by episodes of perceived police brutality.

Spotty record keeping makes it hard to measure the frequency of police misconduct. Departments often refuse to disclose the number of complaints they receive. Citizens often bring their accusations to civil rights or police-watchdog groups, which complicates attempts to compile a comprehensive count. Allegations of misconduct can also multiply in the wake of reforms that make it easier for citizens to report abuses.

In the end, many cases doubtless go unreported, especially in cities where complaints have to be filled out at the station house that is the home base of the very officers against whom the charge is being brought. "The general feeling out on the streets is that you can't get justice when a cop mistreats you," says Norman Siegel, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union. Many blacks believe, with considerable cause, that if the King beating had not been recorded, complaints about the case would have been discounted.

But while the experts cannot agree on whether abuses are up or down, few dispute that they are common—and sadly predictable. Even in the best of times, police work is dangerous and stressful, and an officer can face several life-or-death deci-

sions during a single eight-hour watch. The pressures have mounted in recent years as crack has poured into the inner cities, giving rise to drug-dealing gangs armed with automatic weapons—and the hairtrigger temperament to use them.

In New York City, which has highly restrictive guidelines for when police may use their guns, the number of people shot by local cops soared in the past three years from 68 to 108. At the same time, police have been fired on by suspects in greater numbers every year since 1980. Though the number of officers killed nationally has fallen from 104 in 1980 to 66 in 1989, that is partly the result of wider use of bulletproof vests. "It used to be that arrested suspects got right into the patrol car," sighs Boston policeman John Meade, who heads the department's bureau of professional standards. "Now they put up a light. Weapons suddenly turn up. Just like that, everything explodes."

As inner cities have degenerated into free-fire zones, many officers have be-



Uriah Hannah with the offending toy car
The charge: an officer tried to choke him.

come more aggressive, if only in self-defense. Danger "is something you get used to," says Officer Dennis Rhodes, a 20-year veteran of the L.A.P.D., "but every time you check in for a shift, you don't really know if you're going to go home that night." Two weeks ago, a suspected car thief pointed a 9-mm pistol at Rhodes' partner in the squad car, who then fired a shot at the gunman, forcing him to drop his weapon. "The whole incident took a minute and a half," says Rhodes, "and what raced through my mind was... the fact that I was going to get killed in the front seat of my car."

The temptation to administer street-corner sentences is sometimes reinforced by the frustration of knowing that many of those the police collar will get off on plea bargains or serve mockingly short sentences.

Beyond those factors, police have been saddled with a task for which they are singularly ill-equipped. Most authorities believe that urban street crime arises from a combination of poverty, poor education and a lack of opportunity in inner-city neighborhoods, problems that the police can do nothing about. Officers, who tend to be recruited from places far from the neighborhoods they will patrol, often have little in common with the citizens they must serve and protect. "The bulk of police forces are white males of the middle class," says Ron DeLoard, head of the Combined Law Enforcement Associations of Texas. "Yet we send them into large urban centers that are black and Hispanic and poor, with no understanding of the cultural differences, to enforce white, middle-class moral laws. Doesn't that create a clash?"

Law-abiding residents of crime-infested neighborhoods are desperate for police protection. They, after all, are the ones most likely to fall victim to muggers or drive-by shooters. But they also want the police's use of force kept in check, especially in poor neighborhoods where everyone is apt to be treated like a suspect. Even though many police departments have abandoned the official use of so-called drug-dealer profiles, officers may continue to carry racial stereotypes in their heads. To them, virtually any young black male with a gold chain is a potential drug courier. Any well-dressed black man in an expensive car might be a big-time dealer.

As a result, middle-class blacks, including celebrities like actor Blair Underwood, one of the stars of *L.A. Law*, complain that they have been harassed, and worse, during simple encounters with the law. At the University of Massachusetts, Boston, last week, the ACLU sponsored a conference that attracted 500 people to discuss the topic of police and local communities. "Over and over, black youngsters stood up



HOW TO BUY A COPIER WITHOUT HAVING A BREAKDOWN.



Choosing the right copier can be a bit unnerving. You can eliminate that tension with a Canon Copier and the Performance Guarantee™ Program.

A replacement guarantee. Backed by Canon.

Canon's Performance Guarantee Program includes everything from maintenance to toner, except the paper. In fact, when you buy a Canon Copier and the Performance Guarantee Program, you are guaranteed, if necessary, a machine

replacement for up to three years. So if anything goes wrong, business will go on. And, until 3/31/91, if

you buy them together on the Canon Credit Card, 0% financing is available for up to one year.*



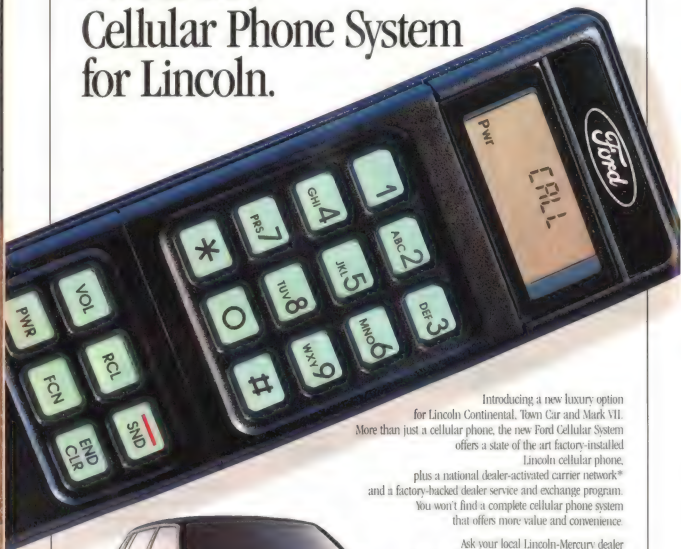
When you have but one copier to give your company.

Whether you choose the NP2020, the NP1520, or the NP1020 copier, rest assured you'll be making the right business decision. See your participating authorized Canon dealer for complete details, or call 1-800-OK-CANON.

*Subject to credit approval. Beginning 1/1/92, for all qualifying purchases made on your Canon Credit Card, Finance Charges will no longer apply. Annual Percentage Rate of up to 15.99% with a minimum Finance Charge of \$0.00 for any month in which a Finance Charge is due.

Canon

It's not just
another car phone.
It's the new
Cellular Phone System
for Lincoln.



Introducing a new luxury option
for Lincoln Continental, Town Car and Mark VII.
More than just a cellular phone, the new Ford Cellular System
offers a state of the art factory-installed
Lincoln cellular phone,
plus a national dealer-activated carrier network*
and a factory-backed dealer service and exchange program.
You won't find a complete cellular phone system
that offers more value and convenience.

Ask your local Lincoln-Mercury dealer
for all the details on the new Ford Cellular System
or call 1-800-367-3013.




Cellular System

and talked about how scary and demeaning it is to be stopped and searched," says ACLU state executive director John Roberts. "Even good kids now see police as the enemy. They shun cops."

Hassled cops, in turn, often retreat into a bipolar outlook: us vs. them. "Police see the sorry side of it all," says Mark Clark, former president of the Houston Police Officers Association. "A policeman can start out bright-eyed and bushy-tailed, but it goes away quickly on the street. It takes a mature officer not to stereotype people." Immersion into the police culture can quickly strip away a rookie's idealism. Says Hubert Williams, president of the Police Foundation: "Many officers will say, the moment I graduated from the police academy my partner told me, 'Forget all that stuff they told you at the academy; this is the real world.'"

Many of the best cops are no longer willing to pay the physical and psychological costs. Take Paul Wyland, who is planning to quit the Washington force after 20 years. "How many dead bodies have you seen?" he asks. "I've lost count. I'm not burned out. But you look at yourself and you say, 'How long can I keep doing this and not get messed up?'" Partly because so many seasoned officers have retired, departments around the nation have found themselves seriously understaffed. Others have expanded too rapidly, filling their ranks with inexperienced—and sometimes poorly trained—officers. Because the L.A.P.D. grew from 6,282 to 8,382 in the past three years, 38% of its field officers and 36% of its sergeants have less than three years on the force.

Experts on police psychology insist that most officers are attracted to police work by the opportunity to protect and serve. But a certain number of rotten apples, predisposed to brutality, make it through psychological testing that can be woefully inadequate. Ed Donovan, who runs a counseling service in Plymouth, Mass., for police suffering from stress, warns that police supervisors—and other officers—must be trained to be on the lookout for misfits as they move through the ranks. "Police are out there looking for troubled people," he says. "They ought to be able to spot troubled cops."

A few cities have revamped their training and supervision to make abuses less likely. Since 1988, all 2,400 police officers on the Metro-Dade county force have undergone violence-reduction training to school themselves in ways to defuse potentially violent situations and to avoid overreaction to typical confrontations.

Critics of the police say that legal-damage suits are a more useful deterrent to police brutality and that they would work even better if jury awards were paid out of individual officers' pockets instead of by city treasuries. While courts have decided that public employees are not individually liable for most of their actions on



Miami police use a nightstick across the throat of a burglary suspect during 1989 rioting

the job, taxpayer concern about the rising cost of lawsuits has revived the popularity of civilian review boards. Such panels are at work in 26 of the nation's 50 largest cities, up from 13 seven years ago. The boards save municipal dollars by providing complainants with an alternative to the courts. They can also help departments identify

and weed out problem officers before they strike again.

Rodney King, the victim of the Los Angeles beating, is bringing a \$56 million civil suit against the L.A.P.D.—according to his lawyer, \$1 million for each blow against him. As it happens, Chief Gates appeared before the city council last week to testify about the sums being paid by Los Angeles—about \$10.5 million in 1990—to successful plaintiffs in police-misconduct suits. One was a \$265,000 judgment to an 18-year-old white youth who was dragged from a car and beaten severely enough to suffer permanent ear damage. Although a civil-court jury found six officers at fault, Gates told the council that after a nine-month investigation, his department could not determine which officer had actually done the beating. "If you can't identify them, it's difficult to discipline them," he insisted. Members of the council were incredulous.

In the end, discipline must come from rank-and-file police with courage enough to break the so-called Blue Code, which prohibits one officer from ratting on another. A few encouraging signs exist that some officers are abandoning the tradition of blind loyalty to one another in misconduct cases. In Houston more than half of all complaints now come from other officers. During the King beating, two California highway-patrol officers reportedly took down the names of those involved from their breast-pocket name tags. They have since testified to investigators.

Episodes of police brutality are likely never to vanish entirely. But they could be significantly curtailed if more officers concluded that as long as their fellow police take the law into their own hands, there is no law at all. —Reported by Cathy Booth/Miami, Sylvester Monroe and Edwin M. Reingold/Los Angeles

Writing on the Wall

Two years before the videotaped beating of Rodney King, television viewers were shocked by footage of a white patrolman in Long Beach, Calif., apparently ramming a black man's head through a plate-glass window. The victim was Don Carlos Jackson, who has devoted himself to exposing police racism since he himself retired from the police force of Hawthorne, Calif., in 1989.

Jackson has assembled a collection of bigoted materials he has found in police departments. Among them: an "Official Running Nigger Target," depicting a grossly caricatured nude black male, posted in a station house in Glendale, Calif.; and a memorandum he found in Los Angeles reading, "Effective immediately, Negroes are no longer to be called 'niggers' or 'jigs'—but seagulls. They cruise all night, squawk all day, s--- on everybody. And are protected by the Federal Government."

Jackson argues that for many officers, "the definition of a criminal suspect is almost synonymous with a black male face." Most departments have rules forbidding the display of racist materials. All too often those regulations are ignored. ■

AURORA, COLORADO

Officer Jeri Thomas' duties include playing basketball with the kids at Sable Elementary School. Thomas is part of Aurora, Col.'s, Police Area Representative program, one of 21 specially beats where cops focus on everything from eliminating drug dealers and purse snatchers to teaching kids like these about the harmful effects of drugs.



Nation

Back to the Beat

As an antidote to police abuses and street crime, many cities are sending cops into communities to protect, serve—and often befriend—local residents

By RICHARD LACAYO



While the Los Angeles Police Department has long relied on SWAT teams and helicopters for high-tech law enforcement, police departments in many other cities are turning to methods that are decidedly low tech. Their weapons of choice? A good pair of walking shoes and a gift for small talk, coupled with rigorous training in the basics of policing.

Frustrated by the failure of standard methods to reduce crime, more than 300 cities and towns nationwide—including Boston, Houston and San Francisco—are adopting the concept of community policing. Through Community Patrol Officer Programs, these municipalities work to build rapport between police officers and the neighborhoods they patrol. "The message is: the beat cop is back," says New York City police commissioner Lee Brown, who last month launched one of the nation's largest CPOR programs to date.

When police officers and the citizens of a neighborhood know each other, CPOR theory holds, it is more difficult for both

criminals and cops to break the law. "Community policing is a deterrent to the improper use of force because it strengthens officers' relationships with the community," says Herman Goldstein, professor of criminal law at the University of Wisconsin. "The neighborhood support gives police a greater sense of confidence and authority, which reduces their need for using force. If police officers feel they don't have the authority, the power, to handle a situation, they're more likely to resort to brute force." Referring to the L.A.P.D.'s beating of Rodney King, Goldstein says, "It's incomprehensible that a police officer imbued with community policing would engage in that type of behavior."

One typical CPOR officer is Donald Christy, 36, of Lansing, Mich. A little over a year ago, he was assigned to cover a nine-block area of the city. At first disheartened by the sight of crack houses and blighted streets, Christy took pains to get on a first-name basis with many of the area's 700 residents and learn what neighborhood problems concerned them most. Those conversations led him to recognize, he says, "that the good people far out-

numbered the bad." Meanwhile, he organized a volunteer community cleanup, which filled 30 Dumpsters with litter; arranged federal funding for floral plantings; and even held a contest to choose a name for the neighborhood: Sparrow Estates.

His unconventional approach to policing paid big dividends in terms of crime control. Residents began to give Christy tips that helped him drive away criminals. Indoor dealers found themselves evicted by absentee landlords. "You can walk around the block now without fear of being attacked," says Ralph Casler, a retired mechanic who has lived in the area for 30 years. Says Christy: "I haven't made an arrest in eight months."

The history of the beat cop has traveled full circle: once, he was nearly driven to extinction by a series of well-intended but ill-conceived reforms. Until the first decades of this century, police were all-purpose keepers of the peace. They ran lodging houses for the homeless, tracked down offensive smells, rounded up stray animals and kept the streetlamps supplied with oil. They also gained a reputation for taking



PORTLAND, OREGON

Starting in 1989, the city of Portland, Ore., embarked on a five-year plan to implement community policing. Here, members of the police gang-enforcement unit watch a high school basketball game, hoping their presence will deter violence and become more familiar in the community.

payoffs and doling out a rough brand of curbside justice.

By the 1930s and '40s, reformers had refashioned police departments along more narrowly focused lines. Officers were trained to concentrate on apprehending criminals, especially for the most serious crimes such as murder, assault, robbery and rape. Other functions were handed off to city health and welfare departments or similar agencies. After World War II, patrol cars and two-way radios came into wider use. Police became a mobile force, cruising anonymously through neighborhoods they knew mostly as the staging ground for each night's disturbances.

The final reform was the all but universal adoption of the 911 system for emergency calls. With that, police were reduced to chasing from one crime scene to another, all the while consolidating the bleakest impression of the people they served. A recent study found that New York City police spend 90% of their time on the job attending to such calls; they once spent just 50%. That leaves almost no time for anything else.

Though the reforms were designed to make police better crime fighters, it was the law of unintended consequences that they wound up enforcing most effectively. Many academic experts believe the changes fostered conditions that contributed to the sharply higher crime rates of the past three decades. A spate of scholarly studies has demonstrated that the offenses to quality of life that police now routinely overlook—such things as loud radios, graffiti and aggressive panhandling—create an atmosphere in which more serious crime is likely to occur. Those petty disturbances are the ones that trouble and frighten ordi-

nary citizens the most. In turn, their fear acts like an acid to disintegrate neighborhood ties. It leads citizens to shun the streets and abdicate responsibility for conditions outside their doors. That invites a dismal cycle of deteriorating conditions, more fear—and more crime.

Accordingly, CROP cops try to discourage crimes before they happen by maintaining—or creating—stable neighborhoods. That requires them to learn which local problems are of greatest concern to residents, and help them find solutions. "Police lost the most valuable thing we had, which is contact with people," says Washington police chief Isaac Fulwood. "We really got away from basic common-sense approaches." In a city where the murder rate soared 10% last year, partly owing to drugs, Fulwood has established community-policing pilot programs in two crime-ridden districts. In addition to a lawbook, patrol officers now have access to a fat directory of government services.

"We deal with broken playground equipment and potholes just as we do with crime," says David Couper, chief of police in Madison, Wis., which has committed its entire force of 310 officers to the community-policing concept. Officer Joe Balles, who patrols the city's low-income Broadway-Simpson neighborhood, hands out a business card with the phone number of the answering machine in his office. At the end of every day he has a tape full of pleas for assistance, messages from tipsters and calls from people who just wanted to chat with their cop.

"The police here are more on top of

things than they've ever been," he boasts. Balles may act as point man with the bureaucracy to get streetlights for a dark alley, or arrange marital counseling for a household that accounts for repeated 911 calls when the couple starts fighting. Defusing situations like that can be highly cost effective. In many cities, more than 60% of emergency calls are generated by just 10% of the households.

Community police may also use unconventional means to combat more serious crimes. When drug dealers in Houston turned a bank of pay phones outside a convenience store into their personal business office, a patrolman got the phones removed. In the same city, a deserted apartment complex where dealers flourished was finally boarded up after a community cop tracked down and harangued the property's bankrupt trustee.

Whether CROP can actually drive down the crime rate is still unproven. The most thorough study of its effectiveness, a 1981 examination of an experimental foot-patrol program in Newark, found that it did not decrease crime. It did pay off, however, in psychological well-being. The visible presence of so many patrolmen made people feel safer and better disposed toward the police.

More recently, though, other cities have reported lower crime rates in specific neighborhoods where the CROP approach has been given a try. On Madison's south side, property crime was reduced 14% between 1987 and 1989. A west Houston neighborhood recorded a 38% drop in serious crime over a six-month period in 1988. But the neighboring Houston area reported increases in crime, which suggests

Nation

that community policing simply relocated the problem.

One big difficulty for police departments is finding the time and resources to make community policing work. Though some *crop* cops are assigned full time to the job, many cities are trying to rely largely on patrol-car officers' doubling as community police. But the frequency of 911 calls means that their time for closeup patrolling is limited. Houston's Neighborhood Oriented Policing program, known as *NOP*, is sometimes referred to derisively by police themselves as *Nobody on Patrol*.

Because the 911 system can never be

abandoned—woe to the mayor of any city in which the police cannot be summoned quickly during a break-in—many departments are looking at ways to cut down on the number of calls. In the Denver suburb of Aurora, where only about a fourth of an estimated 190,000 calls each year are for real emergencies, police operators perform "911 triage." Where appropriate, they direct nonemergency callers to other city agencies. Police officers take the less urgent crime reports over the phone.

"We've ingrained the mentality that a stolen bike will bring an officer to your doorstep quickly," says Aurora division

chief Ronald Sloan. "That has to change."

Community policing is reshaping police forces themselves. Some police academies are revamping their curriculums to train cadets in social-service skills. To dispel the impression in minority neighborhoods that police are a white army of occupation, many *crop* plans require increased hiring of minority officers.

In a system in which the number of arrests made is no longer the mark of success, new yardsticks will be needed to measure individual performance for promotions. "It's hard to measure what doesn't happen in an area," says Aurora's Sloan. One proposal is to look at achieved reductions in the crime rate. Police unions are sure to resist that idea, which would make officers answerable for the countless variables beyond their control—everything from a local recession to a summer heat wave—that can lead to increased crime.

Among the people who don't want to see cops back on the beat are many of the cops themselves. Middle-level department brass are suspicious of plans that make patrol officers more independent. Many of the rank-and-file personnel also scoff at anything that smacks of social work. "There's an unfounded fear that it detracts from the macho image and takes the fun out of putting the bad guys in jail," says Carolyn Robison, a Tulsa police major. A lot of officers just don't like walking. For years, being assigned to the beat was a standard way to punish officers.

The most daunting aspect of *crop* may be that it so dramatically expands the idea of what it means to be a police officer. "This is a radical notion for police," says University of Wisconsin's Goldstein. "That they have 30 or 40 tools at their disposal to bring to bear upon complex problems." But after so many years of getting mixed results from just a few tools—handcuffs, a billy club and a gun—many police are ready for a change. And so are most of the citizens they serve.

—Reported by
Elsie Shannon/Washington
and Richard Woodbury/Tulsa

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Officer Myron McNair wears a smile as he pounds his beat. A year ago, Major Alvin Winkler, commander of Baltimore's tough eastern district, reinstituted foot patrols in five high-crime areas of Baltimore. Now, says Winkler, "average citizens are more willing to volunteer information to the police."



TULSA, OKLAHOMA

Cruising downtown, bicycle patrolman Neal Walters is part of Tulsa's expanding community-policing program. "It used to be 'we' and 'they,'" says Chief Drew Diamond. "Now it's the 'community' and 'us' working together." The chief has assembled an inch-thick book of the city's shifting demographics to help in understanding crime patterns.



We gave
you affordable
Macintosh
computers.
What else could
you want?



We tho



The new Apple StyleWriter.

Like everything about Macintosh, it's simple logic. First, you introduce the most affordable Macintosh

a a

At \$599, the StyleWriter gives you laser-quality printing for about the same cost as a dot-matrix printer.

models ever. Next, you introduce affordable printers to go with them: the new Apple StyleWriter and Personal LaserWriter LS.

Just like the Macintosh computers that preceded them, these printers combine a price almost anyone can afford with the kind of practical innovations only Apple can deliver.

The StyleWriter is a 360-dot-per-inch, laser-quality printer. And it incorporates TrueType™, Apple's new,

precision font technology. Which explains why you can hold pages printed on the StyleWriter next to those from printers costing thousands more, and be hard-pressed to tell the difference.

It's also small. Quiet. And it costs just \$599.

The StyleWriter prints up to one page per minute, fast enough for most people. But if you're cranking out a lot of reports, memos and presentations, you'll want the horsepower of the new Personal LaserWriter LS.

It's a full-fledged, no-compromises Apple LaserWriter.



The StyleWriter's price tag isn't the only thing that's small. At just 13" wide by 18" high by 5" deep, it fits any desk as well as any budget.

ught so.



The new Apple Personal LaserWriter LS.

It pumps out as much as four pages per minute. Has a built-in high speed serial interface so complicated graphics won't slow it down. It also utilizes TrueType. And it even prints in the background, so you can be working at the same time it is. All for just \$1299.

But what makes these printers special isn't just the printers alone. It's that they're built with the same philosophy as the Macintosh computers they're intended to work with.

There are no dip switches to set. No cards to mess with. No font cartridges to buy. And they work the same way with every Macintosh and every Macintosh



program. Just plug them in. Turn them on. And they're ready to start printing.

It's all part of the seamless, practical approach that makes it easy for the thousands of people who use a Macintosh to concentrate on solving their problems instead of solving their computers.

Your authorized Apple reseller can show you exactly what we mean. If you need help finding a reseller, call 800-538-9696, extension 625.

And discover the power you buy a computer for in the first place. The power to do more than ever. The power to be your best.



Avis Preferred Express Speed Renting.

THE FASTEST WAY TO RENT FROM
THE EMPLOYEE-OWNERS OF AVIS

How fast is Avis' Preferred ExpressSM service? It's non-stop. No counters. No paperwork. No hassles. When you arrive at your destination, just get off the plane, board the first Avis courtesy bus you see, and we'll whisk you right to the car you reserved. Non-stop. The keys and a rental agreement confirming your charges will be inside waiting for you.

Don't wait any longer. Join

the Avis Preferred RenterSM Program now and enjoy the convenience of Preferred Express service. An enrollment application and fee are required. Then, as a member, you can automatically receive Preferred Express service at over 30 major U.S. airport locations.

At Avis, "We're trying harder than ever" means faster than ever for you.

AVIS.

We're trying harder than ever.SM



Avis features GM cars. Pontiac Grand Prix.

The Political Interest

Michael Kramer

Gates: The Buck Doesn't Stop Here



"No one is going to force me out of this office," says Daryl Gates. "I didn't invest 42 years of my life to go down the tubes over an incident I had nothing to do with."

Gates doesn't get it. Even though he was not physically present when Rodney King had the hell beat out of him in Los Angeles on March 3, Gates, as head of the L.A.P.D., is responsible. When one has the power to constrain those who might engage in an immoral enterprise, one has a responsibility to do so. In such a situation, a leader's worthiness is judged by how that responsibility is discharged, both before and after the outrage is committed. Gates failed at both ends.

In the weeks following the King incident, Gates has refused to accept any responsibility. He still insists that the atrocity was an "aberration," although Los Angeles is currently paying at least \$10 million in claims to blacks and Hispanics unjustly slammed around by Gates' cops. The video evidence—horrifying and unambiguous—was seen around the world almost instantly, but it took Gates four days to announce that all the officers present at the scene would be investigated, and to ask that criminal charges be filed against the cops who calmly took turns clubbing and kicking the handcuffed King.

It took two more weeks for Gates to order a "brick-by-brick" review of police-training procedures, but he was on television the very next day touting his department as a "model" for the nation. Gates' eventual apology to King was equally grudging—and began with two absurd irrelevancies: "In spite of the fact that he's on parole and a convicted robber, I'd be glad to apologize."

Consider how New York City's former police commissioner reacted to a similar situation in 1985, when officers were accused of torturing a suspect with electric "stun guns." After first accepting his own responsibility, Commissioner Benjamin Ward summoned 327 senior officers to police headquarters in lower Manhattan. He read them the riot act, then fired the entire chain of command involved in the incident—from a lieutenant at the offending precinct to the department's third-ranking official, the chief of patrol. "I didn't consult with the mayor or the district attorney, or anyone," says Ward. "I just acted."

"Ben understood instantly and instinctively about accountability," says Patrick Murphy, who held New York's top police job in the early 1970s. "He knew that behavior is controlled by consequences. The work of police officers, no matter how idealistic, energetic or motivated, can never transcend the caliber of their bosses. Leadership will either be a constant

inspiration or instant depression. Cops at the lower rungs cannot escape the management of the chief. The L.A. officers would not have done what they did if they knew they would be reported by other officers. The problem is the tone set at the top." In most departments, says James Fyfe, an American University professor and former cop, "the use of force is considered a failure." But Los Angeles is different. In the L.A.P.D., says Fyfe, "if you kick butt, you're doing a good job."

Those who defend Gates say his is the only realistic approach. They decry the average officer's frustration with revolving-door justice, excessive plea bargaining, the fact that so few convicted felons "do time" for their crimes, the requirement that

those who patrol ghetto areas fulfill a myriad of societal roles. As excuses, these explanations excuse nothing—and the conditions they describe are hardly new.

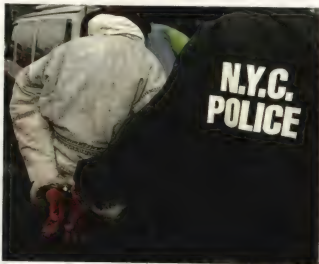
The trying task of policing ghetto America was perhaps best described by the Kerner Commission following the urban riots of the 1960s, most of which were ignited by police violence: "Police responsibilities in the ghetto have grown as other institutions of social control have lost much of their authority: the schools, because so many are segregated, old and inferior; religion, which has become irrelevant to those who lost faith as

they lost hope... the family, because its bonds are so often snapped. It is the policeman who must fill this institutional vacuum, and is then resented for the presence this effort demands.

"And yet," the report continued, "precisely because the policeman in the ghetto is a symbol, it is of critical importance that the police take every possible step to allay grievances that flow from a sense of injustice and increased tension and turmoil."

In a democracy, effective law enforcement requires community support. Without it, the concept of ordered liberty is impossible. However true public-police partnerships are fashioned—and they do exist—they can never thrive, as the Kerner commissioners put it, "when a substantial segment of the community feels threatened by the police and regards the police as an occupying force."

Daryl Gates complained last week that his department is "not getting" public support. "They hate me," he said of his critics, a condition ordinarily insufficient to demand a police commander's resignation: most chiefs are routinely denounced by some of those they serve. But when a near majority of Los Angeles residents say in a poll they fear for their safety when stopped by an L.A. cop, and a quarter say they have personally seen or been involved in an incident in which excessive force has been used, something is tragically wrong. And the first thing wrong is Daryl Gates.



Busting a drug suspect in New York City: what's needed is leadership





**A THIRD GRADER SPENDS AN AVERAGE
OF 900 HOURS A YEAR IN CLASS.
AND 1170 HOURS WATCHING TELEVISION.**

SATURDAY IS A SCHOOL DAY IN JAPAN AND KOREA. THE WEST GERMAN SCHOOL YEAR IS TWO MONTHS LONGER THAN OURS.

THE NEED FOR OUR CHILDREN TO MASTER THE BASICS HAS NEVER BEEN MORE CRITICAL. AND IS THE CENTRAL IDEA BEHIND TI'S TOOLS FOR LEARNING.

EACH TOOL WAS DEVELOPED WITH AMERICA'S FOREMOST EDUCATORS, USING PROVEN LEARNING PRINCIPLES.

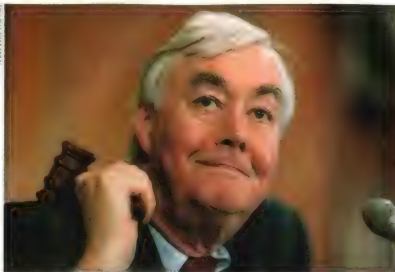
THE TI MATH EXPLORER™ IS THE FIRST AND ONLY CALCULATOR DESIGNED FOR TEACHING THE MASTERY OF FRACTIONS. IN A PILOT STUDY WHERE IT WAS GIVEN TO 8TH GRADERS FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR, SPECIFIC TEST RESULTS WERE EXTRAORDINARY: USING CALCULATORS, 8TH GRADE GIRLS' PROBLEM-SOLVING SKILLS INCREASED TO A REMARKABLE 10TH GRADE LEVEL. USING OUR CALCULATORS IN THE CLASSROOM IS NOW BEING EXPLORED BY SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN EVERY STATE IN THE NATION.

IN ADDITION, THE TOOLS ON TI'S LEARNING PATH™ PROVIDE AN ENGAGING WAY FOR PARENTS TO HELP THEIR CHILDREN MASTER THE BASICS AT HOME. EACH TOOL ADDRESSES A SPECIFIC AREA OF LEARNING THAT CAN BEGIN AS EARLY AS INFANCY.

**TOOLS FOR LEARNING FROM
TEXAS INSTRUMENTS**

**BECAUSE OUR NEWEST GENERATION
MUST BE OUR SMARTEST GENERATION.**





Hammering home a populist message: "It's time the American worker got a break"

The Common Man's Tax Cut

Rebuffed last fall, Moynihan revives his plan to reduce Social Security levies for middle- and lower-wage earners

By ALEX PRUD'HOMME

"T he most irresponsible idea of the 1990s," said Budget Director Richard Darman. "A charade!" harrumphed President George Bush. "Outrageous!" cried dozens of editorialists and labor groups. The object of that opprobrium was Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's plan to reduce the Social Security tax. First proposed by the New York Democrat in December 1989, the bill was killed last October before it even reached the Senate floor. Today, however, the Social Security Tax Cut Act of 1991, an updated version of Moynihan's idea, is becoming one of the country's most hotly debated domestic policy issues.

With his plan, Moynihan seeks to curtail the government's spending of the surplus that resulted from a 1983 congressional overhaul of the Social Security system. Congress had called for accelerated tax rates to build up reserves for baby boomers, many of whom will begin to retire early next century. The reserves will result in an estimated surplus of \$74 billion this year, \$83 billion next year and \$225 billion by the year 2000. Charging the government with "extortion," Moynihan claims that this "trust fund" is being improperly counted as general revenue when the federal budget is written each year and is being used to mask the real size of the budget deficit. Besides, Moynihan contends, the Social Security tax is one of the country's most regressive levies, putting

a greater burden on middle- and low-level earners than does the income tax. "It's time the American worker got a break," he says. "Average weekly earnings for non-supervisory, nonfarm workers were lower in 1990 than they were in 1960."

Under the existing law, American employers and employees this year will each pay a flat Social Security payroll tax of 6.2% on wages up to a cap of \$53,400. Moynihan's proposal would cut the tax to 5.7% on July 1 of this year, to 5.5% in 1994, and to 5.2% in 1996. After five years, workers would pay only what is required to meet the benefits payments for that year's Social Se-

curity. With some workers saving up to \$2,300 each during the transition period, says Moynihan, their added spending would stimulate the economy and create jobs. Meanwhile, no increase in payroll taxes would be required until 2015, when the rate would return to the current level of 6.2%.

Reaction has been mixed. Gary Hufbauer, a Georgetown University economist, estimates that a Social Security tax cut would create a million jobs and thus add a million extra contributors to the trust fund. But Republican Senator Phil Gramm of Texas warns against "soaking the rich." Says he: "We should be debating tax cuts, but we shouldn't mess with Social Security. The system isn't broke; don't fix it." The plan's critics argue that it could cost the federal government \$50 billion a year in lost revenue, a claim challenged by Moynihan.

Since tax cuts are inherently appealing to voters, this proposal is sure to provoke some frenzied political maneuvering during the run-up to next year's presidential election. The Democrats will try to argue that they are the party of ordinary Americans, while casting the Republicans as champions of the rich for supporting a capital-gains tax cut that would mainly benefit families with annual incomes of \$200,000 and up. Although the Bush Administration officially opposes the Moynihan tax cut, some Republicans are trying to head off a potential political bonanza for the Democrats by supporting the idea. A number of them also favor the tax cut on ideological grounds, claiming that it will shift resources from the public to the private sector.

A coalition of strange bedfellows is starting to line up behind Moynihan's plan. The bill's co-sponsors include liberal Democrats, like Hawaii's Daniel Inouye and Rhode Island's Claiborne Pell, and conservative Republicans, like Orrin Hatch of Utah and Steve Symms of Idaho. But Moynihan still faces obstacles—not least the Democratic House leadership. Pointing to the yawning federal deficit, House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski argues that "the last thing we should be doing is cutting taxes." Speaker Tom Foley remains on the fence. Senate majority leader George Mitchell, initially cool to the Moynihan plan, now supports it "in concept," and has suggested raising the cap as a way to offset any revenue loss.

With powerful forces building behind it, Moynihan's latest payroll-tax-reduction proposal stands a good chance of surviving—but only if it can get as far as a Senate-House conference, which could happen by June. President Bush would then face the difficult choice of signing a bill—and handing the Democrats a political victory—or enraging voters by vetoing a law that would cut taxes for some 132 million American workers and 6 million employers.

—Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington





There's no limit to the promises dental insurers can make. Only to those they can keep.

At Delta Dental we keep our promises. Unlike many of our competitors, we focus on true cost management, rather than simply shifting the cost to your employees. Though we never promised the moon, last year alone we delivered savings of over \$100 million to our groups and subscribers. ☐ How? Through safeguards which include fee reviews, dental office audits, dentist-consultant reviews, and post-treatment reviews, the Delta Dental Cost Management Program offers controls in a way other insurers can't begin to match. ☐ But Delta's cost management is only one facet of a unique three-point system that also includes plan design flexibility and 106,000 dentists in the nation's largest participating network. ☐ It's a program only Delta Dental offers. That's why we now cover more than 20 million people in 23,000 groups and pay more than \$2 billion a year for dental care. To learn more about how your group can benefit from Delta Dental, call 1-800-441-3434 today.

Delta Dental
America's Leader In Dental Health Plans.

A man with glasses and a mustache is sitting in a wooden office chair at a desk, typing on a keyboard. He is wearing a grey long-sleeved shirt. On the desk is a vintage computer monitor and a green desk lamp. Behind him is a bookshelf filled with books. In the foreground, a young boy in a red shirt is lying on his stomach on the floor, drawing with markers. There are several markers and a box of markers around him. The scene is lit with warm, indoor lighting.

Family business

"My work is important to me. Sometimes that means a little extra effort. But instead of staying late at the office, I come home. To my wife and my son. My new Tandy® computer makes it possible.

"I knew that Radio Shack sold computers, but I didn't know they'd have just the right one for me. The right features, good quality, and a price I was happy with. And I didn't realize it would feel so good to say that it was built in the U.S.

"On my desk at work there's a photo of my son. It's a good likeness . . . but it just doesn't compare to the real thing."

Radio Shack
AMERICA'S
TECHNOLOGY
STORE®



Stage mother: Holloway, left, indicted for plotting to kill the mother of Amber Heath, center, to help daughter Shanna, right

Murders They Wrote

Passion, envy and genius combine in a trio of true-life crime dramas that seem ready-made for TV

By NANCY GIBBS

Pity the Hollywood suits who will have to choose which of this winter's murder cases would make the best movie of the week. Even tabloid writers with a flair for melodrama are hard pressed to do justice to the true stories that have unfolded in New Hampshire, Texas and Florida—and who knows how many other plots are marinating, still undiscovered, in the shadows of the heartland? A brief gazetteer:

NEW HAMPSHIRE. In the town of Derry, Pamela Smart, a 23-year-old high school instructor with big brown eyes, Gainsborough ringlets and a taste for heavy-metal music, deflowered William Flynn, a 15-year-old student, after they watched the steamy movie *9½ Weeks* on the VCR. She then persuaded Flynn and two friends to do away with her husband Greg, who was found shot in the back of the head last May.

At Rockingham County Superior Court in Exeter, court watchers began queuing up in the wee hours to get good seats. The *Boston Herald* set up a 900 number, at 95¢ a minute, for readers to call in verdicts. One witness, who has already sold her story to Hollywood for \$100,000, testified that Smart told the boys to look the dog in the cellar so it would not have to watch the dastardly deed.

The dog, in fact, loomed large in her calculations. According to prosecutors, Smart decided to get rid of Greg rather than divorce him for fear that her husband, a 24-year-old insurance salesman, would keep not only their condo but also their pet. So, argued prosecutor Paul Maggiorio, she "got her hooks so deep into the hormones" of

Flynn that he could not resist her influence. Last week the jury agreed, and Judge Douglas Gray sentenced Smart to life in prison without parole for conspiring to commit murder. All three boys pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and face the possibility of life imprisonment.

TEXAS. At Alice Johnson Junior High School in Channelview, outside Houston, two eighth-grade honor students, Shanna Harper and Amber Heath, were vying for a spot on this fall's freshman cheerleading squad. But Shanna didn't make it—not least because, on the day before the contest deadline, her mother was arrested for trying to get someone to murder Amber's mother.

Wanda Webb Holloway, organist at the local Baptist church, is an irrepressible stage mother. Two years ago, when Shanna was up for the cheerleading team, her mother tried to have rival Amber disqualified from the competition on a technicality. Last year Holloway inadvertently got her own daughter disqualified when she showed up at school and handed out promotional pencils and rulers imprinted SHANNA HARPER CHEERLEADER.

This year she is charged with trying a more drastic strategy. According to the police, Holloway plotted to have Amber's mother killed in the hope of causing the girl so much emotional distress that she would be unable to compete. When Holloway allegedly asked her ex-brother-in-law to help her find a hitman, he turned informant. According to the police, she toyed with the idea of killing both mother and daughter, but couldn't afford the \$7,500 fee. So she offered a pair of diamond earrings to help pay for killing Mrs.

Heath alone. Holloway has pleaded not guilty, and the trial is set to start in June. In the meantime, school principal James M. Barker still believes in healthy competition. "After all, it's the American way. We all want our children to achieve. There is a part of Wanda Holloway in all of us."

FLORIDA. The nation's second busiest death row is accommodating an unusual new arrival: a pepper-haired, bespectacled genius named George James Trepal, who fed rat poison to the family next door because he considered them bad neighbors. It seems that Trepal, a science buff and member of Mensa, a social club for the high IQed, grew tired of his neighbors' loud music and barking dogs. He left a death threat on the door, and when that didn't work he slipped into the Carr family kitchen and laced some thallium nitrate into a pack of 16-oz. Coca-Cola Classic bottles. A few days later Peggy Carr's hair began falling out. Her feet burned, her fingers tingled and her stomach turned. Within a few weeks she was in a coma; three months later she was dead. Her sons and husband also showed symptoms but eventually recovered.

Police were utterly baffled until Trepal began handing over clues. No one in the small community of Alturas could conceive of a motive, until detectives began questioning Trepal. "Somebody wanted them to move out," he told police. "That was the reason they were poisoned." Next he began planning for his favorite recreation, the annual Mensa murder weekend, when the geniuses gather to solve their perfect fantasy crime. "When a death threat appears on the doorstep," he wrote in a booklet for the event, "prudent people throw out all their food and watch what they eat." An undercover agent, planted in Mensa to befriend Trepal and learn his secrets, ultimately found the evidence against him: a small vial in the garage containing traces of thallium. How could a genius be so dumb?

—Reported by Linda Bean/
Exeter and Deborah Fowler/Houston

HOLD EVERYTHING.



The Isuzu Trooper can hold five full-grown adults and 45.5 cubic feet of cargo space, the most in its class.*

But it isn't just bigger. It's enormously better. With standard features like four-wheel drive. A powerful 2.6 liter fuel-injected engine or optional 2.8 liter V6. Four-wheel disc brakes. Auto-locking hubs. And triple skid plates. In fact, at over a thousand dollars less than Jeep® Cherokee, about the only thing on our Trooper that isn't oversized is the price.

The Isuzu Trooper. A vehicle that can hold its own. Not to mention everything you own. For a free brochure, call (800) 245-4549.

THE ISUZU TROOPER. \$13,699.[†]

*Behind the rear seat. †MSRP excluding tax, license, and transp. fee. Optional equipment shown at additional cost. Prices start at \$13,699.

ISUZU
There's no comparison.

American Notes



Retrial for David Mooney

TRIALS

Be It Ever So Humble...

A man's home is his castle, even if home is a park bench or a cardboard box under a highway bridge. And a man's possessions, like his home, are protected by the Constitution from unlawful searches. That was the thrust of a Connecticut Supreme Court ruling last week that ordered a new trial for David Mooney, a homeless man charged with murder because his property—a duffel bag and a box stashed under a ramp leading onto Interstate 91 in New Haven—had been searched by police without a warrant. "His duffel bag was luggage," observes criminal-law professor Lloyd Weinreb of Harvard. "If someone were walking down the street with a suitcase, everyone would take it for granted that it was private property." The court ruled that the bloodstained pants and \$700 in coins found in the bag were inadmissible as evidence.

In a separate case involving a similar principle, a federal judge held the city of Miami in contempt of court last week for destroying bedrolls, clothes and medicine belonging to homeless people living under a highway overpass. The city was ordered to pay \$2,500 to a homeless shelter.

POLLUTION

Now They Tell Us!

In Seattle, where environmentalism and individualism are local mainstays, the woodburning stove has long been the appliance of the politically correct. Sales exploded during the 1970s energy crises, when stoves seemed an organic way of declaring independence from Big Oil.

But it turns out that they can be rotten for your health. The organic compounds of woodsmoke are suspected of being linked to cancer, heart disease and disorders of the central nervous system. "People never realized how dirty they were," says Naydene Maykut, an air-pollution scientist. Heating 30 houses with wood stoves, she notes, creates as much particulate matter as heating 30,000 houses with natural gas.

Although people on fixed incomes would be allowed to keep their stoves, King County officials are considering banning stoves in new homes and phasing out older models. "It's about time," says David Ortman, northwest representative of Friends of the Earth. "We shouldn't have put them in in the first place."



Hazardous to your health?



Flash flood: a mixed blessing for a parched land

WEATHER

California Streamin'

In most places, torrential downpours, tornadoes, flash floods and mudslides would be about as welcome as the bubonic plague. In drought-parched California, however, such freakish weather has been greeted with jubilation. So far, what some residents are calling the "Miracle March" has brought three weeks of rain and almost doubled the state's normal monthly precipitation levels. The watery largesse resulted when a high-

pressure system moved off the Pacific Coast, unleashing the storms that have drenched the state.

Predictions of a drought-induced economic disaster are being sealed back, and a few communities may loosen up their water restrictions. But state officials fear that the latest boon from the skies could deflate efforts to overhaul California's outmoded water pricing, distribution and conservation systems. They warn that rainfall and reservoirs still remain at half their normal yearly levels and that the state's five-year drought is not yet over.

CRIME

Death on the Home Front

Americans got a reminder last week that some war zones are more lethal than others. After seven months in the Persian Gulf with a Patriot missile battery, Army Specialist Anthony Riggs, 22, won a two-week furlough. Back home less than 24 hours, Riggs was helping his wife load a car and rented van to move out of a crack-infested neighborhood in northeast Detroit to an apartment in the safer suburbs. Someone took a fancy to Riggs' 1989 Nissan Sentra, pumped five shots into the soldier and sped off in the car.

Riggs had underestimated just how murderous America's

urban battlegrounds could be: "I just got back from where they were firing missiles at my head," he said on his return to Detroit's



Riggs: spared in war, shot on the street

mean streets, where gunfire is all too common. "Those bullets aren't going to frighten me now." A few hours after he died, a letter from Riggs arrived, dated Feb. 22. "I have no intentions on becoming one of this war's casualties," he wrote. But he was talking about the wrong war.



SPECIAL ADVERTISING FEATURE

A Nation of Neighbors

SUPPORT GROUP HELPS WOMEN WITH BREAST CANCER

All her life, Virginia Ray of Kent, Washington had impressed others with her rare combination of optimism and forthright spunk. When she was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1984, she was determined to fight back. "Once something like this happens, you realize it's a warning—and you've got to do the things you really want to do," she says.

So she did. While undergoing chemotherapy, Virginia kept a full-time job and completed a B.S. degree in Business Administration. Upon graduation, she and her husband Joe took a trip to Europe. "My reward," she recalls.

But there was more she wanted to do, so she started a local support group in her area where there had been none. "I made it through surgery and treatments—and I thought I could help others through the same thing," she says.

Reaching Out for Support

Virginia began by contacting medical experts. She gained the interest of her physician, his nurse and the local branch of the American Cancer Society (ACS). Her co-workers helped create a

brochure. Then she visited other doctors' offices to find breast cancer patients to join the group.

Today, the group meets twice each month. Some nights, guest speakers talk about medical treatments, nutrition, legal concerns, even timely hair and makeup techniques. Other nights, it's strictly from the heart as group members share feelings and fears about their illness.

Sharing is Caring

"Cancer is like a series of peaks and valleys," Virginia notes. "Sometimes a woman may tell us her diagnosis is bad. But someone else may announce, 'I have only one more chemo treatment'—and you can share in the joy."

Virginia has suffered two cancer relapses. Without a trace of self-pity she explains, "This is serious stuff, but you can't brood about it all the time." To discourage brooding, Virginia oversees the group's annual holiday party. She

also helps compile lists of tips for newcomers. For instance, "When you go to the doctor, bring your questions on paper and bring along a friend who'll hear the things you'll miss."

ACS Program Director Sharon Murphy says, "It's amazing to see what a positive outlook they have, how they can just say, 'I'm alive today—and that's good.'"

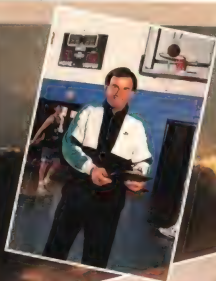
While others credit Virginia Ray's unflappable courage for the group's success, Virginia insists anyone can do it. "You just have to get out there, take initiative and contact people," she says, "because you can really make a big difference in people's lives."



Virginia Ray continues to inspire breast cancer patients at bi-monthly support group meetings.

Michael Remick

17th in a series of self-reliant
communities cleaning up problems
in their own backyards



Amway
Distributors (from top):
Joel Griffing, New York; Dr. Julie
Skains, New Mexico; Dr. David Humphrey,
Washington.

*Some people are
as reliable as
sunrise. You can see
it in their smiles,
feel it in their hand-
shakes. You can tell
their lives are fulfill-
ing, their work is
rewarding. These
are Amway people.
Hardworking Ameri-
cans you can count
on to give their best.
Every day.*

Amway and its one million independent distributors market hundreds of diverse products and services, and thousands of catalog products to more than 10 countries and territories. For more information, call 1-800-544-7167



We're Your Neighbors

● IRAQ

Getting Their Way

The Kurdish revolt shakes Saddam, contributing to his decision to form a new Cabinet, and raises the question, Does the country face a breakup?

By LISA BEYER

*If we had a king,
He would be worthy of his crown;
He should have a capital
And we would share his fortune.
Turk and Persian and Arab
Would all be our slaves.
—Kurdish verse popular in the
1920s*

The slaves are out of the question, but the capital and the fortune are looking more attainable than ever to Iraq's Kurdish minority. After struggling for most of this century for control of their homeland, which happens to sit atop some of Iraq's richest oil fields, the Kurds have wrested large portions of it from Saddam Hussein's disheveled forces. Though their gains are far from irreversible, this time the Kurds appear to have a chance of holding on and, in the end, winning at least a form of autonomy. Says a beaming Hoshyar Zeburi, spokesman for the Kurdistan Democratic Party: "This is the nearest we've ever come to achieving our objectives."

The successes of the Kurds in Iraq's north as well as those of predominantly Shi'ite rebels staging a simultaneous uprising in the south have plainly spooked Saddam. Last weekend in an apparent bid to soothe popular discontent, Saddam relinquished one of his posts, that of Prime Minister, and named a new 24-member Cabinet. The new Prime Minister, Saadoun Hammadi, formerly deputy PM, is a Shi'ite and, within the context of the ruling Baath Party, is considered a moderate. But the changes are unlikely to convince the Iraqi masses that the regime has truly turned over a new leaf, especially since the ironhanded Interior Minister, Ali Hassan Majid, has kept his job. "The Cabinet is window dressing," says a U.S. government expert on Iraq. "It doesn't make any decisions anyway."

Saddam is not the only one worried about the Kurds; the allies, who, by entangling Saddam, made the Kurdish victories possible, are concerned too. The Kurdish leadership professes a modest aim—

autonomy within a democratic Iraq. But suspicions run deep that the real agenda is, as it has been in the past, independence, a break from Baghdad clean and neat. That is an outcome none of the allies desire. For one thing, they do not want to be held responsible for Iraq's partition. For another, the Kurds in Turkey, Syria, Iran and the Soviet Union might come down with separatist fever as well.

At the same time, the allies are rooting for Saddam's downfall, a result the Kurdish uprising may be making more likely. The conflicting objectives of keeping Iraq whole and bringing Saddam down have produced what a close adviser to President Bush frankly calls a "muddle" in U.S. policy. While refusing to give actual aid to the rebels, Washington has hampered Sad-

dam's ability to subdue them by refusing to allow Iraqi warplanes to fly. The U.S. enforced that prohibition last week when it shot down two Iraqi Su-22 fighter-bombers in northern Iraq. Washington, however, has so far turned a blind eye to Iraqi helicopter attacks on the rebels.

For the Kurds, the dearth of support for their cause is nothing new. They first began to seek independence for Kurdistan, which encompasses 28 million people in an area roughly the size of Thailand, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed after World War I. The Treaty of Sevres in 1920 promised them an independent state, but it was never ratified. Later that year, Britain annexed the oil-rich Kurdish region of Mosul to Iraq, then a British mandate. Intermittent insurgencies against Baghdad have



followed ever since, and Kurds in Turkey, Iran and Syria have also remained restive.

Life under non-Kurdish rulers has not been easy. Teaching the Kurdish language is prohibited in Iranian and Syrian schools. In Turkey singing a Kurdish ditty can bring a jail term. Syria has revoked the citizenship of many of its Kurds to punish their rebelliousness. Iraq has expelled tens of thousands of Kurds from their homes, and in 1988 gassed the town of Halabja, killing 5,000 people. The world community scarcely took notice.

Over the years, the Syrians, Iranians and Turks have quietly supplied military aid to Iraqi Kurds. But the assistance was only enough to create a nuisance for Baghdad, never enough to enable the Kurds to break loose.

In their latest campaign the rebels claim that in addition to their 30,000 fighters, called the *pesmerta* (those who face death), they have on their side some 20,000 defectors from the regular military and another 200,000 militiamen. But these figures are believed to be greatly exaggerated. "If you add them up," says a senior British diplomat, "the fighting should have ended some time ago."

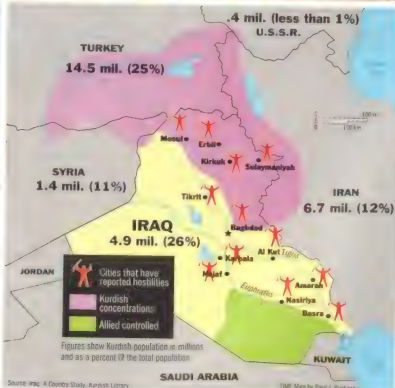
Yet there is no denying that the Kurds have made serious advances. After the relatively easy task of capturing barren

countryside, last week they began to move on the cities, including Kirkuk, a metropolis of nearly 1 million people and the heart of Iraq's oil-producing north.

The Kurds have always been tough fighters; Saladin, the nemesis of the Crusaders, was a Kurd. But this time, they have been helped by a convergence of propitious factors. Because Baghdad at first considered the unrest in the Shi'ite areas more threatening, it moved troops in the north-southward, giving the guerrillas a more open field. Popular disgust with Saddam's disastrous Kuwaiti adventure fertilized the ground. "Uprising is an art," says Jalal Talabani, Damascus-based leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. "There must be a climate for it."

Though there is no indication that the Kurds are coordinating military tactics with the insurrectionists in the south, both Kurdish and Shi'ite groups belong to the Joint Action Committee formed by Iraqi opposition organizations in December. Still, the ambitions of the Kurds, who are Sunnis, and the Shi'ites, who want a fundamentalist government in Baghdad, are hopelessly in conflict. Last week Talabani said bluntly, "There will not be an Islamic regime in Iraq." Meanwhile, the Shi'ites suspect that in victory Kurdistan would bolt from the republic at the first opportunity. Outsiders are equally skeptical that the Kurds would settle for autonomy. "As the first step, yes," says Michael Lazarev,

Rebels watch over the body of a security agent they killed in Erbil; another group poses inconspicuously in front of a Manhattan-skyline mural inside a captured military installation in Harir



an expert on the Kurds at Moscow's Institute of the Middle East. "But I am sure they are still dreaming of a Kurdistan of their own."

Such a prospect makes leaders in Turkey, Iran, Syria and to a lesser extent the Soviet Union uneasy. It is not that the Kurds spread across these countries are likely to join arms and fight en masse for a united homeland. Tribal loyalties have prevented the Kurds from developing that kind of cohesion. In fact, Kurds have at times betrayed their fellow nationals, as when Iraqi Kurds in the early 1970s conspired against Iranian Kurds in return for Tehran's support for the Iraqi group's fight against Baghdad. But the fear is that if the Kurds in Iraq succeed in gaining self-rule, Kurds elsewhere may be emboldened to fight harder for their rights as well.

Turkey has put the Kurds on notice that it may use force to prevent the establishment of an independent Kurdish state in Iraq. Ankara has a historic claim on Iraq's Mosul province which it might use as a pretext for such a move. That might in turn prompt Iran and Syria to seize their own pieces of Iraq. Two weeks ago, Turkish officials met with Iraqi Kurdish leaders for the first time. In exchange for that rare acknowledgment of their legitimacy, the Kurds apparently promised Ankara that they would not foment rebellion among their brethren in Turkey.

While Iraqi Kurds have been speaking with increasing confidence that their day has come, Saddam has surely not finished fighting them. If his forces are able to consolidate their gains in the south, they will soon turn their guns on the rebels in the north. After a permanent truce is reached with the allies, Saddam will presumably be able to fly his combat planes again and thus bomb the Kurds from the air.

Of course, Saddam may not last long enough to see the battle out. The allies continue to hope that one of his officers will depose him. Many Kurdish leaders say they would be happy to work with a military junta. According to Zeburi, his group has even written to army commanders pledging support for a military coup. Yet a new man in a uniform in Baghdad might not be any better for the Kurds than the old one. "The military establishment in Iraq has a very bad history," says Sami Abdul Rahman, leader of the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party. "They are chauvinistic and dictatorial."

The armed forces, which are dominated by Sunni Arabs, are also aware that both the Shi'ites and the Kurds are revolting not just against Saddam but against Sunni subjugation as well. Preserving Sunni predominance would thus require quashing the rebels' aspirations. For the Kurds, a capital and a fortune may yet prove as illusory as those slaves.

—Reported by Dan Goodgame/
Washington, Scott MacLeod/Damascus and
William Mader/London

In from the Cold

Never let it be said that April Glaspie does not know how to suffer in silence. Ever since Iraq invaded Kuwait last August, the Bush Administration has tried to make Glaspie, then the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, the scapegoat for Washington's prewar policy of appeasing Saddam Hussein. That was easy to do, since Glaspie was prohibited from giving her version of the infamous meeting she had in Baghdad with the Iraqi dictator a week before the invasion. Iraq leaked a doctored transcript in September quoting Glaspie as saying that the U.S. had "no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." Since only the Iraqis had a transcript, Glaspie could offer no documentary evidence that contradicted Saddam's account. All she could do was obey orders and say nothing.

Last week Glaspie finally spoke up. The State Department allowed her to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where she proved to be the best witness for her defense. Articulate and direct, Glaspie insisted that Iraq had "maliciously" edited the transcript "to the point of inaccuracy." A "great deal" in the Iraq record was accurate, she

conceded, but her stern warnings that the U.S. would not tolerate the use of force against Kuwait had been deleted. She said she described those warnings in a confidential cable she sent to the State Department immediately after the meeting. If U.S. officials had made a mistake in dealing with Saddam, she contended, it was not to "realize that he was stupid—that he did not believe our clear and repeated warnings that we would support our vital interests."

Glaspie's impressive appearance before the committees left legislators all the more puzzled over why the Administration had refused to rebut the Iraqi version or clear up doubts about her toughness. Loyalist, Glaspie refused to complain. "The Administration wanted to work on its job of collecting a coalition and winning the war," she explained. State Department officials, concerned that Iraq might release an embarrassing tape of the meeting, said last week that the U.S. had wanted to avoid "a debate" over the transcript during the diplomatic and war effort. Added Glaspie: "Now the war is over, and I was sent up here to answer your questions."

The lawmakers treated her with respect, which is not how the Administration had behaved toward the 25-year foreign-service veteran, one of its top Arabists and the first woman to head a Middle East embassy. Ordered home on July 30 for consultations, Glaspie was not allowed to return to Baghdad. When the Iraqi transcript was made public, State Department officials said omissions had been made but it was basically accurate. Asked last fall about Glaspie's instructions for the meeting with Saddam, Secretary of State James Baker made no effort to support his ambassador. "What you want me to do is say that those instructions were sent specifically by me on my specific orders. There are probably 312,000 cables that go out under my name." Although Baker took eight aides to his Jan. 9 meeting with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Geneva, Glaspie was not among them, nor was she asked to join his postwar tour of the Gulf earlier this month.

The Democratic chairmen of both committees asked the State Department to release Glaspie's cable describing her meeting with Saddam. If the State Department refuses, the issue will remain one of Saddam's word against Glaspie's. "I hope my credibility is at least as great as Saddam Hussein's," she said. Judging from her testimony, it is the Administration that must worry about credibility, not April Glaspie.

—By Christopher Ogden



After months of silence, Glaspie speaks

Why the personal copier is such an important part of Harry Anderson's act.



"Ouch! Before I got my Canon PC-1, my home office looked like the place where bills and paperwork went to die.

But now, bingo, I'm knocking out clean, crisp copies on everything from business cards to OHP

transparencies, faster than a three-handed card dealer.

Since Canon PC Copiers don't need warm-up time, mine's ready to copy when I am. And there's no trick to working it because it's got that PC Mini-Cartridge system. Everything that can run out or wear out is right inside. Change it, and you darn near got yourself a new copier.



Whether you choose the PC-1, or the PC-2 with its 50-sheet stack feeder, a compact Canon personal copier can give you a hand, without costing an arm and a leg.

Wanna know more? Get on the horn and call 1-800-4321-HOP."



Canon PC-1/PC-2
PERSONAL COPIERS
Nothing but originals.



© 1987 Canon U.S.A., Inc. Home Office Products Division, One Canon Plaza, Lake Success, N.Y. 11042

Canon and the extended warranty with the Canon wordmark are trademarks of Canon U.S.A., Inc. All other trademarks are the property of their respective owners.

During 1991, the showrooms
at Lincoln-Mercury dealers
will be
among



the rare places where you'll
find **TWO TEN BEST** winners
on sale.



—CAR AND DRIVER, JANUARY 1991



Mercury
Sable

For a free Sable or Tracer catalog, call 1-800-446-0000.



LINCOLN AND MERCURY ARE DIVISIONS OF FORD

EXCLUSIONS APPLY TO ALL CATALOGS

Does Land Still Buy Security?

A debate rages on whether Israel could safely return even a demilitarized Golan Heights to Syria

By **GEORGE J. CHURCH**

In heresy there may be hope. Views have been voiced lately in Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization that hard-liners on both sides damn as horrifying heresy. Those views have, of course, been officially repudiated. Even so, the mere fact that they could be uttered, out loud, indicates some potential cracks in official stone walls.

Heretic No. 1 is Bassam Abu Sharif, an adviser to P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat. In an interview televised in Britain, Abu Sharif hinted that a Palestinian state might not have to include every last bit of the West Bank; the implication was that Israel might keep part of that occupied territory. The P.L.O. disavowed any such idea, and Abu Sharif reportedly offered to resign. Still, his words pointed to unconventional thinking within the P.L.O.

Heretics Nos. 2 and 3 are high-ranking Israelis. Speaking in Washington, Health Minister Ehud Olmert, a confidant of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, proclaimed Israel to be ready for negotiations with Syria that could include even "the territorial demands of the Syrians." At a farewell news conference in Tel Aviv, Dan Shomron, who retires in April as Israel's Chief of Staff, remarked cryptically that as part of a possible "political agreement [that] involves demilitarizations, arms limitations" and other items, "one can speak about risk vs. territory."

Israeli right-wingers had no doubt that both were hinting at a long-unmentionable idea: giving up part or all of the Golan Heights. Syrian artillery firing from that barren plateau once kept northern Israel under intermittent bombardment. Israel seized the heights during the Six Day War and ever since has insisted that retaining the territory is essential to its security. Jerusalem actually annexed the area in 1981.

Shamir said he was "not happy with Olmert" and added that in any negotiation "we shall say we do not agree to withdraw" from the Golan. The small rightist Teihiya party threatened to quit the government coalition if the idea of withdrawing was so much as discussed in the Cabinet. Housing Minister Ariel Sharon spoke of building enough apartments in the heights to balloon the area's Jewish population from 11,000 to 31,000. (About 15,000 non-Jews, mostly Druze, also live there.)

Israel nonetheless can expect renewed argument from Washington. President Bush and his advisers hope to start a movement toward Middle Eastern peace with an Israeli-Syrian negotiation. Their view is that the heights should be returned to Syrian sovereignty and civil administration, but that the area should be demilitarized, patrolled by American troops or an international force.

The U.S. agrees that Israel cannot let Syrian tanks and artillery move back into the heights. But otherwise officials argue

that possession of territory no longer contributes much to security in a missile-armed age. As the gulf war proved, one

serious threat to Israel apart from ground attack is assault by missiles that can whiz right over a buffer zone. Israel, says a Bush adviser, needs "political security as opposed to garrison security," and political security would be achieved by a peace treaty with Syria. The same argument theoretically would apply to the West Bank, but security is only one reason for Israel's refusal to let go of that land; an equally important one is the strong religious attachment many Jews feel toward the biblical Judea and Samaria.

Some Israeli military planners contend that the Golan and West Bank have become more, not less, essential to security. Without early-warning devices there, they assert, warheads could hit Israel before the civilian population could be warned to head for shelter. Even so, some military men speculate that if Israel kept its early-warning devices and troops in numbers sufficient to thwart a surprise Syrian attack, it could withdraw partially, keeping only a slice of territory running 15.5 miles east from the pre-1967 border.

That may be what Olmert had in mind in an interview with TIME. He insisted that, far from wanting to give up the Golan, he thought Israel should try to negotiate a Syrian relinquishment of its claim. But he added, "I don't want to say what is the fallback position." On the subject of talks, he noted that while Syria, with Iraq out of the picture, has become Israel's most dangerous enemy, its leaders "might now change their position" as a result of participation in the gulf war. "So let's test them. Let's sit at the table willing to negotiate anything."

His view is a long way from prevailing in Jerusalem—let alone Damascus, which in any talks is likely to insist on recognition of its effectual control of Lebanon as well as return of the Golan Heights. But the voices of Olmert and like-minded thinkers are unlikely to be drowned out, because they have logic on their side.

—Reported by Mary McC. Fernandez/New York and Robert Slater/Jerusalem



The Israeli town of Katzrin in the Golan Heights; inset: Chief of Staff Shomron





Soviet naval cadets in Leningrad: they face declining military budgets and no prospect of catching the West

MILITARY STRATEGY

How Moscow and Beijing Lost the War

The allied victory is a sobering lesson for the world's two largest armies. It may be a prohibitively costly one.

By BRUCE W. NELAN

The commanders of the world's two largest communist armies have seen the future, and to their horror, it works. Generals in Moscow and Beijing are organizing conferences and ordering up studies, but their conclusions are already clear: neither the Soviet nor the Chinese armed forces can match the high-technology weapons and tactics the U.S. displayed in its swift demolition of Iraq.

It is not just that American M1A1 tanks made scrap metal out of Soviet T-72s, which they did, or that Iraqi pilots of top-of-the-line MiG-29s were unwilling even to engage U.S. planes, which they were. Worse, from the Soviet and Chinese points of view, is the fact that they have no counterparts to the Western weapons that won the war in its first few days—Stealth fighter-bombers, precision-guided munitions, electronic warfare. Hardest of all for the Soviet Union and China to accept is the near certainty that neither will be able to catch up with the U.S. anytime soon.

In the decades after their successful revolutions, both communist giants built massive ground forces equipped with

heavy tanks and artillery. Since the 1970s, their military leaders have also given lip service to the need for lighter, faster forces and high-tech weapons. Partly out of bureaucratic inertia and largely because their economies were not up to the task, neither country actually moved into the modern military age of microelectronics. "People talk as if the Soviets haven't done their best, and have to do better," says Stephen



Chinese special forces train with knives: Beijing can supply little more than basic equipment

Meyer, a military expert at M.I.T. "The point is, their best wasn't good enough."

Some of the conservative officers in Moscow are trying to pretend the Iraqi collapse never happened. Marshal Viktor Kulikov told a Soviet news agency that Iraqi soldiers had failed, not Soviet equipment. Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, an adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, said any claim that the gulf war proved the superiority of American arms was "sheer propaganda."

That kind of bluster is wearing off, and other generals are drawing pointed lessons. Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov told the Supreme Soviet in Moscow that Iraqi air defenses "failed in most cases." Furthermore, "we have weak spots in the anti-aircraft system, and we need to examine them." The success of the American F-117A Stealth fighter, of course, throws into question the effectiveness of the whole \$100 billion Soviet radar- and missile-defense network.

The Soviets must also be shaken by the overwhelming speed, firepower and flexibility of the new American method of warfare, the doctrine called AirLand Battle, which combines air, ground and naval forces into one integrated onslaught.

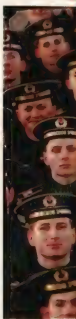
"They can't help being as impressed by the U.S. performance as they are depressed about what it means to their forces," says Raymond Garthoff of the Brookings Institution in Washington.

A few reformers in the Soviet officer corps admit as much in public. Colonel Alexander Tsalko, former director of an air force training center and now a member of the Soviet parliament, says Iraq's defeat shows that Soviet military doctrine and the structure of its forces are obsolete. "Some military authorities in this country," he



*Longitude:
87°36'W*

Chicago



Soviet naval cadets

MILITARY STRATEGIES

How Beijing

The allied largest arm

By BRUCE W. NELSON

The communist largest of the future works. Generals are organizing war studies, but it's not clear: neither are armed for technology war displayed in its

It is not just the made scrap metal which they did, of the-line MiG-21 engage U.S. planes. Worse, from the of view, is the fact that parts to the Vietnam war in its first er-bombers, pre-electronic war. Soviet Union at near certainty that catch up with the

In the decade revolutions, both massive ground

CHICAGO



There are two places to observe woolly mammoths in Chicago: The Field Museum. And, of course, Bears' games.



How do you get to the Chicago Theater? Practice, practice, practice.



Mushrooms with a view? Try Ciel Bleu.



The world's preeminent blues town is also a mecca for polka. Imagine the crossover possibilities.

Along Chicago's 29 miles of breathtaking shoreline you'll find 36 museums, 55,000 hotel rooms, hundreds of stores and boutiques, dozens of restaurants and night-



Thanks to stores like Henri Bendel, it's easy to make a fashion statement in Chicago. A very articulate one.



Quite simply, the Art Institute houses one of the world's great collections. (Even if we are missing an ear here and there.)



Imagine facing a water hazard so large they hold sailboat races in it. At the Waveland Golf Course you will.



No, he's not an overzealous tourist from Ohio. Merely one of the Shedd Aquarium's trained divers.

Longitude:
87°37'W

Longitude:
87°36'W

Chicago

clubs, a zoo, a golf course, 2 star-studded baseball parks, an equally star-studded planetarium, numerous piers that welcome fishermen and an aquarium that does not.



For more information and an Illinois Visitors Guide, just call 1-800-ABE-0121.

CHICAGO
THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE.

© 1991 Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs, Bureau of Tourism

World

says, "still believe that the outcome of a war is determined by the clash of huge ground forces." That is "madness," he says, because the outcome in the gulf was determined by air power; Iraqi troops had no choice but to "keep their noses buried in the sand."

Most of Moscow's brass, however, is not absorbing that lesson and is simply demanding more money. That is in part a knee-jerk reaction, conditioned by a series of shocks to the military system, like the humiliation in Afghanistan, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, and two years of major cuts in the defense budget.

Because Gorbachev is relying heavily on the armed forces to keep him in office and maintain order in the country, he may ease off on future spending cuts—scheduled to reduce the defense budget 14.9% this year. But the Soviet economy is in such dire straits that it cannot provide the enormous amounts of money necessary to create the entire industries needed to duplicate U.S. battlefield technologies. "To be able to do as the allies did in the gulf," says Abraham Becker, director of the RAND-UCLA Center for Soviet studies, the Soviets "would have to revolutionize their economy." That is something Gorbachev has so far been unable to manage.

China is even further behind in the high-tech stakes. A commentator in the military's *Liberation Army Daily* wrote of the gulf conflict, "We are seeing the warfare of the 21st century fought on the battlefield of today." The gulf battles were the antithesis of Mao Zedong's theories, which insisted that a "people's war" of massed armies would defeat any aggressor. Beijing began thinking about modernization recently, but with a defense budget of only \$6.16 billion last year, it is hard pressed to deliver much more than basic equipment to its army of 3 million.

Beijing is eager to buy new arms from the Soviet Union, though it must be having some doubts about the quality of the merchandise these days. China announced two weeks ago that it would provide the U.S.S.R. with food, tea, cigarettes and other consumer goods worth \$730 million. In return it wants to buy combat aircraft, missiles and tanks.

If America's smart weapons make Soviet hardware look bad, there is another lesson for Moscow and Beijing to learn—one far less pleasing to the West. Saddam Hussein's mobile missile launchers proved very difficult to counter, and even his primitive Scuds, though little more than terror weapons, indicated the potential effectiveness of ballistic missiles. As a result, the Soviets and Chinese are now likely to base their defense even more heavily on missiles and nuclear weapons.

—Reported by Jaime A. FlorCruz/Beijing and Bruce van Voorst/Washington



Enforcing the boycott: Moldavians burn a ballot box seized from a police station in Tiraspol

SOVIET UNION

Gorbachev's Nightmare

What if Boris Yeltsin becomes the first elected president of the Russia republic, the biggest and wealthiest of them all?

While President Mikhail Gorbachev scored a victory of sorts in last week's national referendum on the Soviet Union's future, the big winner was his archrival, Boris Yeltsin. At Yeltsin's urging, voters in the Russian Republic approved the idea of a popularly elected President. Yeltsin plans to seek that post, which is likely to intensify his confrontation with the Kremlin. And at the moment he would be the odds-on favorite to win it; leaders of a fast-growing miners' strike have already pledged their support.

Record books will have to put bulky footnotes under the 3-to-1 yes vote Gorbachev won for his proposal that the U.S.S.R. be preserved as a "renewed federation." To begin with, six of the country's 15 republics, with a combined population of 21 million, officially boycotted the referendum. Of the country's 286 million people, 184 million were eligible to vote and, nationwide, 147 million went to the polls.

So while Gorbachev's proposal was approved by 76% of the people who voted, that is only 61% of those who could have done so. There is also the question of the almost Brezhnev-level statistics from the Central Asian Republics—all of them above 90% approval, with Turkmenistan hitting 98%—which hint at possible vote fraud. There have been accusations of ballot tampering in some republics.

Yeltsin's electoral triumph, on the other hand, was relatively unclouded. In Russia 70% of the voters said they wanted an elected President. But the route from the

chairmanship of the republic's parliament, the position Yeltsin now holds, to the presidency is not unobstructed. This week, for example, he faces a parliamentary no-confidence vote, called by conservative Communists in an attempt to dump him from the chairmanship he narrowly won last May. If Yeltsin passes that test, he must then push through constitutional changes to create the presidency.

Yeltsin is already the country's most popular politician, and his prospects at the polls, if he gets there, are improving through support from the increasingly powerful independent trade unions. Since March 1 about 300,000 miners have walked off their jobs at 160 of the country's 600 coal mines. They support Yeltsin's demand for Russian control over Russia's natural resources and demand Gorbachev's resignation. "We don't believe this government could fulfill our demands for normal working conditions," says independent union leader Pavel Shushpanov, "even if it wanted to."

Faced with this incipient revolution, Gorbachev and his colleagues in the Communist Party and the KGB are expected to do everything they can to derail Yeltsin's presidential campaign. Even without a popular mandate as leader of Russia, Yeltsin has been challenge enough in Gorbachev's eyes. As the elected head of government in the largest, wealthiest republic, he would be a Kremlin nightmare.

—By Bruce W. Nelson
Reported by James Carney and John Kahan/Moscow

BRITAIN

Trimming Around the Edges

Major kills Thatcher's poll tax and changes the tone of policy, but her philosophy goes marching on

By GEORGE J. CHURCH

I see a tendency to try to undermine what I achieved and to go back to more powers for government.

—Margaret Thatcher, March 8, 1991

Margaret Thatcher never minced words during her 11½ years as British Prime Minister, and will not do so now. But she exaggerates the changes her country's Conservative government has set in train since an intraparty revolt four months ago replaced her with her Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Major.

During her tenure, Thatcher effected changes in British life that are now probably beyond anybody's power, or even wish, to undermine; not even the Labourites, for example, would want to restore the stranglehold that unions exercised on the pre-Thatcher economy. Nor has Major shown much philosophical deviation from Thatcherism: the impulse to rely on private enterprise rather than government still rules.

But there are differences that go beyond the contrast between Major's low-key amiability and Thatcher's imperious bellowing. Less ideological and less combative than Thatcher, Major also is far more ready to dump a policy that is going wrong. He proved it last week by washing his hands of Thatcher's widely hated poll tax.

The levy, introduced over the past two years, replaced property taxes as a source of funding for local government. It was intended to make high-spending local councils, mostly Labour-controlled, accountable to the public by ensuring that every adult, not just property owners, paid directly for local services. But the tax bore no relation to ability to pay; within a locality every adult was charged the same amount, although millions of poor people got rebates. Resentment boiled over into a major riot in Trafalgar Square.

The 1991-92 budget presented last week by Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont—invariably dubbed Stormin' Norman by the press—calls for an immediate cut in the poll tax of \$250 a person, an average of 36%. That is to be offset by an in-

crease in the value-added tax, a kind of super sales tax, from 15% to 17.5%. Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine later announced that the poll tax would be scrapped entirely by 1993, but talked only vaguely about what might replace it.

The budget restricted tax breaks on mortgage interest paid by higher-salaried home buyers. Thatcher had opposed any measures that would discourage homeownership. It stepped up an already scheduled increase in the benefit paid weekly to mothers for each child; the new level will be \$16.56 for the eldest child, \$13.43 for younger ones. By contrast the budget imposed new levies on executives who receive "in-kind" benefits such as the use of company cars and mobile telephones; private car phones provided by employers will be taxed \$356 a year. These measures hardly add up to a change in direction, but they do mark a shift in the tone of policy toward more generosity to the underprivileged and less to the well-off.

Major has also changed the tone of some British foreign policies. Like Thatcher he opposes any further political integration of the 12-nation European Community, but he does not share her aversion to greater economic unity. He said in a recent speech that Britain's "rightful place" was "at the very heart of Europe," a remark no one could imagine Thatcher making.

Many political analysts now think Major might call a general election in June before the glow of victory in the Gulf is dimmed by Britain's recession. Inflation is coming down, and as price increases ebb, Major is reducing interest rates; last week's budget called for a further 2-point cut, to 13%. Businessmen, however, are unsure whether that is enough to produce an expected upswing by fall. Even if it does, unemployment, at a two-year high of 7% of the labor force, is expected to keep rising, perhaps to as much as 9% by the end of 1991.

Since Major took over, the Tories have pulled from a deep deficit in the opinion polls to a 4-point lead over Labour. Even if Major wins, however, he would remain under the eye of a formidable presence. Thatcher has been grumbling lately that she was unseated as a result of a plot, a suspicion for which others can find no evidence. Last week she became president of a new group, Conservative Way Forward, dedicated to pushing Thatcherite policies; it will blow the whistle on any backsliding. Even out of power, this lady is not for turning.

—By Anne Constable and

William Mader/London



Lamont holds the dispatch box used to carry Britain's budget to Commons

What's the difference?

Now, it's **The Daily Difference**. You'll find it every weekday on the *NBC Nightly News With Tom Brokaw*. It's a series of provocative three-minute segments — special reports on people and issues vital to you and your family. It's **The Daily Difference** that makes NBC stand apart. That will make a difference in your life.



MONDAYS

IN THE '90s

How change in the world affects you.



TUESDAYS

WHAT WORKS

People and ideas that make a difference.



WEDNESDAYS

VITAL SIGNS

The latest news in health and medicine.



THURSDAYS

CRIME & PUNISHMENT

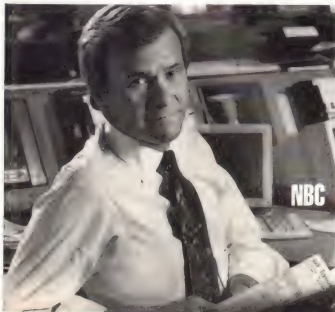
America's war in the streets. How we fight it.



FRIDAYS

THE FRIDAY FOLLOW-UP

Yesterday's newsmakers — where are they now?



NBC

Nightly News With Tom Brokaw 

MAKING A **DAILY DIFFERENCE** IN YOUR LIFE

FOREIGN AID

Good Intentions, Woeful Results

How an ambitious environmental program ended up damaging the tropical rain forests

By EUGENE LINDEN



A new threat to the world's fast-diminishing rain forests has united the normally fractious environmental community. The organizations arrayed against this peril constitute a Who's Who of the environmental movement: the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, the World Wildlife Fund, the National Wildlife Federation and the Natural Resources Defense Council. Testifying before Congress, Bruce Rich, chairman of the Environmental Defense Fund's International Program, said none of these groups were "exaggerating when they say they fear that an environmental Frankenstein has been unleashed."

And just what is this monster? Sadly, it is a program originally intended to save the world's remaining rain forests. The Tropical Forestry Action Plan, or T.F.A.P., was perhaps the most ambitious environmental aid program ever conceived. Sponsored in 1985 by the World Bank, the U.N. and other groups, the initiative was designed to help the world's tropical countries come to grips with deforestation. With the help of international agencies, each nation would come up with a formal proposal for managing and protecting its forests. T.F.A.P. would channel \$8 billion in aid over the next five years to implement those programs.

By now, efforts to slow tropical deforestation should have been in effect for years. Instead, sponsors had to convene in Geneva last month for what James D. Barnes of Friends of the Earth described as a "make or break" meeting to see whether the fundering plan could even be saved.

Few would deny the seriousness of the crisis that prompted T.F.A.P. Moist tropical forests cover just 6% of the earth's terres-

trial surface but contain at least 50% of the world's variety of insects, plants and animals. Throughout the world the forests are chopped to clear land, provide firewood or supply the timber market. A report issued in 1990 by the U.N.'s Food and Agricultural Organization shows that the rate of deforestation in the tropical world has accelerated 80% since 1980.

T.F.A.P. was the industrial world's largest collective effort to help address the developing world's environmental problems. It was launched with assurances that the program would not repeat the mistakes of past development efforts, which included duplication of effort; rip-offs by contractors, consultants and corrupt officials; and a tendency to promote the donor's priorities at the expense of the Third World's. Unfortunately, the forestry plan ended up repeating many of these failings.

From the outset, T.F.A.P. seemed to have more to do with expert opinion in industrial-world think tanks than with actual situations in tropical nations. Perplexed critics asked why India, with few remaining tropical forests, was targeted to receive \$1.2 billion, while Indonesia and Zaire, with huge forests, were to receive \$193 million and \$34 million apiece.

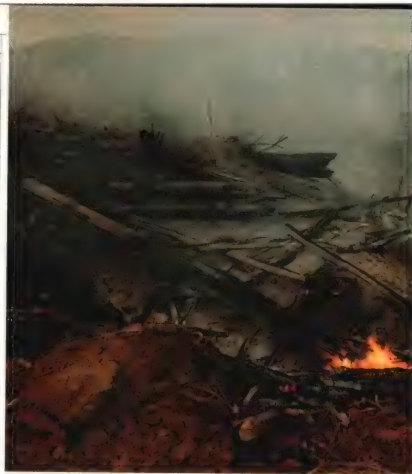
It turned out that the authors of the original T.F.A.P. had chosen spending targets not by the size of their uncut tropical

forests but by their ability to digest large amounts of money. Says Bruce Rich: "It was a plan that was really devised according to the needs of the aid agencies rather than the needs of the countries."

Embarrassed by such mistakes, the sponsoring organizations made the first of several attempts to fix T.F.A.P. Be patient, they advised waiting aid recipients; the plan was still evolving, and its shortcomings increasingly being voiced by sponsoring organizations, however, the program seemed to take on a life of its own.

In country after country, proposed action plans stressed such projects as the opening of previously pristine forests for exploitation. Noting that Cameroon could become the "most important African producer and exporter of forestry-based products from the start of the 21st century," T.F.A.P. proposed construction of a 370-mile road through virgin rain forest that is home to 50,000 Pygmies. Many environmentalists wondered, By what logic do building roads into pristine areas and financing logging operations help preserve uncut forests?

The logic of self-interest, as it turns out: the sponsors of T.F.A.P. created a plan that promised benefits to rich and poor nations alike if they adopted programs stressing forestry over conservation. By making the forestry department of the U.N.'s Rome-based





MALAYSIA: tropical forestry almost invariably damages ecosystems



BORNEO: ancient rain forests are shrinking faster than ever
IVORY COAST: weeding a rice field in a freshly cleared forest

Food and Agriculture Organization principally responsible for administering the overall plan, moreover, the sponsors made it likely that cutting trees would have high priority.

But the organizations also made the mistake of selling the program in different ways to the rich nations and the Third World. Although touted to environmentalists in the industrial nations as a plan to save the forests, T.F.A.P. was sold to the Third World as one more source of funding for traditional forestry projects. Little wonder that the plans tended to be short on ways to slow deforestation. Said a development expert: "For officials in the Third World, environmental aid has become a new form of cargo cult: Go through the motions of doing these assessments, and cargo will come."

The most serious problem, however, is that T.F.A.P. may be based on a flawed premise. Thomas Fox of the World Resources Institute doubts there is evidence to support the assumption that tropical forests can be harvested and managed without damaging the ecosystem. So little is known about the intricate interdependencies that tie the myriad species of plants, animals and insects of these forests into a working system that some biologists wonder whether tropical forest-

ry is sustainable at any commercial level.

The plan has been all but disavowed by some of its original sponsors. James G. Speth, who as president of the World Resources Institute was instrumental in creating T.F.A.P., has described the plan as the "biggest disappointment of my six years at W.R.I."

FAO director general Edouard Saouma, an autocratic executive who likes to run his own show, has fought to keep control. Under threat of a funding cutoff from the sponsoring organizations, however, the U.N. organization agreed in Geneva earlier this month to cede control of the program to an outside governing council and to participate in the program's redesign. For the moment, these decisions have partially mollified critics, who are willing to wait to see whether these actions will produce meaningful reform.

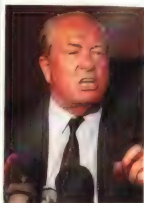
So far, T.F.A.P. has not fulfilled the most dire predictions of environmentalists, but only because very little of the \$8 billion intended for the Third World has actually been spent. Moreover, the plan has not been all bad. It offered a framework that brought rich nations together with Third World countries to begin dealing with tropical deforestation. "There are benefits to having global, one-stop shopping for the basic principles of forestry lending," says Barnes of Friends of the Earth.

Nor can it be said those criticizing T.F.A.P. are without sin. Tropical nations today find themselves besieged by international environmental groups, each promoting its own approach to conservation and planning. Some African nations are dutifully undertaking as many as seven different types of assessments, often with little coordination between the ministries involved. It was the fear of this type of scattershot approach that inspired creation of T.F.A.P. in the first place.

Perhaps the best thing to come out of the T.F.A.P. disaster is that the furor it triggered has forced major international organizations to pay attention to the complexities surrounding tropical deforestation. The World Bank has been harshly criticized for promoting development projects that lead to the destruction of tropical forests. But the bank's vast influence in poorer nations gives it the potential to be a major force in plans to save the forests.

There is little time to spare. An estimated 210 million acres (85 million hectares) of tropical forests have been burned, cut or flooded in the five years since T.F.A.P. was conceived. It is not too late for the world to act to save these intricate green engines of life, but efforts to help will come to naught if the rich nations do not first absorb the failings of the world's most ambitious environmental program to date.

World Notes



Le Pen: talk is not cheap

FRANCE

Comeuppance For a Bigot

The price of Jean-Marie Le Pen's inflammatory rhetoric is going up. When the leader of France's right-wing National Front party referred to the Nazi gas chambers as a "detail of history" in 1987, outraged

Holocaust survivors banded together to file suit. Last year a tribunal in Nanterre ruled against Le Pen and fined him a symbolic one franc. But rather than drop the case, Le Pen appealed the ruling, asserting it was a "freedom of expression issue." Last week the Court of Appeals in Versailles not only upheld the 1990 decision but drove the point home by increasing the fine to a not-so-symbolic 900,000 francs—\$180,000.

The money will be divided among the groups that filed the suit. In addition the court has ordered Le Pen to pay for announcements of the decision in 10 publications. Le Pen, who plans to appeal again, has called the proceedings against him an attack by "corrupt and hypocritical" politicians. Meanwhile, the cost of his verbal antics continues to mount. Earlier this month, a French court condemned him for an anti-Semitic comment and ordered him to ante up \$5,000 more. ■

YUGOSLAVIA

Humpty Dumpty

Making up is hard to do. Just ask Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. Last week, after six days of brinkmanship during which he threatened to break up Yugoslavia's presidency after first having failed to bully it, Milosevic decided to try to pick up the pieces of conciliation. Milosevic, who wants a strong central government dominated by Serbia, has been feuding bitterly with the independent-minded, noncommunist governments of Croatia and Slovenia.

The latest crisis erupted when the Serbian representative to Yugoslavia's collective presidency temporarily stepped down from his seat. He was protesting the other members' refusal to let the army quell the country's rampant eth-

nic and civil strife, including demonstrations against Milosevic's autocratic rule in Serbia. The ploy, which angered Croatian and Slovenian members of the presidency, failed when the army decided to keep out of the fray. Said one Serbian opposition leader: "What was a drama has become a farce." ■



Street politics of brinkmanship

BRAZIL

Fatal Accusation

Does a man have a legal right to kill his wife if he suspects her of being unfaithful? For Brazilian men who invoked the "honor defense" in court to justify murdering their wives or girlfriends,

the answer was usually yes. Though the judicial strategy was never officially recognized, it was repeatedly used by lawyers to acquit their clients or get their sentences reduced. According to a report based on police records, 83% of the rapes, beatings and other attacks against women were inflicted by present or former husbands

or lovers. Now the Superior Justice Tribunal in Brasilia has rejected the honor defense as a valid legal argument.

Maria Aguinaga, a leading Rio de Janeiro feminist and counselor to the National Council for Women's Rights, called it a landmark decision, but other observers warned that women still face discrimination

in the courts. "The jury is composed of common people who have been raised in a much society," says Elaine Matosinho, chief of the women's crisis center at the police station in the city of Belo Horizonte. "The lawyers will continue to try to convince them that the victim is the guilty one, that she is responsible for her own murder." ■

GERMANY

Oh, How They Love That Trabi

During 40 years under communism, East Germans must missed the freedom to travel, to see the world that lay hidden beyond walls and fences. Perhaps that accounts for the runaway success of a thin little comedy called *Go, Trabi, Go*, which is filling movie theaters across united Germany.

The Trabi, of course, is the legendary two-stroke Trabant, the fume-spewing plastic jupoly built for nearly 27 years in what used to be East Germany. The movie stars



In a scene from the film, the Trabi tries some new moves

"Schorsch," a baby-blue Trabant 601 that takes the Struutz family—father, mother and daughter—from the grimy Sax-

on town of Bitterfeld to the balmy bay of Naples.

Along the way, Schorsch engages in a heap of high hilarity—

choking to a stop on the autobahn, losing its bumper in Munich traffic, getting roughed up by West German car snobs, losing all four tires to pranksters during a camping stop, careening on two wheels in Rome, finally shedding its top in a near fatal spill near Mount Vesuvius and becoming a convertible.

Such Trubulations have drawn nearly a million German moviegoers since the film opened in mid-January. Director Peter Timm used 12 Trabis to shoot what will undoubtedly go down in film annals as the definitive, perhaps only, Trabi film. Production of the valiant sputterer will end at Zwickau in April. ■

WHICH HAS THE HIGHEST OWNER LOYALTY OF THEM ALL?

CARS

SUBCOMPACT, COMPACT,
SMALL SPECIALTY, MID-SIZE,
BASIC, LARGE & LUXURY

Acura Legend
Audi 100
Audi 200
BMW 300 Series
BMW 500 Series
BMW 600 Series
BMW 700 Series
Buick Century
Buick Electra
Buick LeSabre
Buick Park Avenue
Buick Regal
Buick Riviera
Buick Skylark
Cadillac Eldorado
Cadillac Seville
Chevrolet Beretta
Chevrolet Camaro
Chevrolet Caprice
Chevrolet Cavalier
Chevrolet Celebrity
Chevrolet Corsica
Chevrolet Corvette
Chevrolet Lumina
Chrysler Fifth Avenue
Chrysler New Yorker
Dodge Colt
Dodge Daytona
Dodge Dynasty
Dodge Shadow
Eagle Summit
Ford Crown Victoria
Ford Escort
Ford Mustang
Ford Taurus
Ford Tempo
Ford Thunderbird
Honda Civic

Honda Civic-CRX
Honda Prelude
Hyundai Excel
Jaguar XJ6
Jaguar XJS
Lincoln Continental
Lincoln Mark VII
Mazda 323
Mazda Protege
Mazda 626
Mazda RX-7
Mercedes 190
Mercedes 560SL
Mercury Cougar
Mercury Grand Marquis
Mercury Sable
Mercury Topaz
Nissan 240 SX
Nissan 300 ZX
Nissan Maxima
Nissan Pulsar NX
Nissan Sentra
Nissan Stanza
Oldsmobile Calais
Oldsmobile Ciera
Oldsmobile Eighty-Eight
Oldsmobile Ninety-Eight
Oldsmobile Supreme
Oldsmobile Toronado
Plymouth Sundance
Pontiac 6000
Pontiac Bonneville
Pontiac Firebird
Pontiac Grand Am
Pontiac Grand Prix
Pontiac Sunbird
Saab 900
Saab 9000
Toyota Camry
Toyota Celica
Toyota Corolla
Toyota Cressida
Toyota Tercel

Toyota Supra
Volkswagen Cabriolet
Volkswagen Golf
Volkswagen Jetta
Volvo 200 Series
Volvo 700 Series

TRUCKS

PICKUP, MINIVAN,
VAN/WAGON & SPORT UTILITY

Chevrolet Astro
Chevrolet S-10 Pickup
Chevrolet S-15 Pickup
Chevrolet S-10 Sport Utility
Chevrolet S-15 Sport Utility
Chevrolet Blazer
Chrysler Town and Country
Dodge Caravan
Dodge Dakota
Dodge Pickup
Dodge Ram 50
Dodge Ramcharger
Dodge Van
Dodge Wagon
Ford Aerostar
Ford Bronco II
Ford Econoline Van
Ford Econoline Wagon
Ford Explorer
Ford Ranger
GMC Jimmy
GMC Safari
Isuzu Trooper
Jeep Cherokee
Jeep Grand Wagoneer
Jeep Wagoneer
Jeep Wrangler
Mazda Pickup
Nissan Pickup
Plymouth Voyager
Toyota Pickup

THE WORLD'S BEST LOVED



DODGE CARAVAN.

In car language, owner loyalty means love. You love your car so much you would buy another model just like it. And the higher the owner loyalty a vehicle has... the more their owners love it.

Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager have the

*Comparison of minivans with a sufficient sales history

highest owner loyalty of any minivan.*

Chrysler Minivans have a higher owner loyalty than many of the world's finest cars. Think what this means

People love their Chrysler Minivans more than people love their Audis...their Lincoln Continentals...their

WORLD'S MINIVANS.



PLYMOUTH VOYAGER.

Mercedes 190s...their Jag XJ6s...their BMW's...their
Volvos...Corvettes...Cadillac Seville's...Acura Legends.

Chrysler Minivans and you. What began as a simple
love story...has blossomed into a mad, passionate affair.



Advantage: Dodge



Advantage: Plymouth

Masters of Deceit

How the men behind an audacious bank expanded it via global duplicity, touching Jimmy Carter, Arab sheiks and Manuel Noriega along the way

By JONATHAN BEATY AND S.C. GWYNNE
WASHINGTON

Investigators say it is one of the most powerful and corrupt banks they have ever encountered. The shadowy \$30 billion offshore enterprise called Bank of Credit & Commerce International made headlines briefly when it was convicted of laundering drug money in the U.S. last year, but its story came home with shocking force to most Americans more recently. B.C.C.I., investigators have found, has for years secretly owned the largest bank in Washington, First American Bankshares, despite a decade of denials by one of the city's most respected figures, lawyer and First American chairman Clark Clifford. Bad enough that an unregulated foreign banking empire convicted of crimes in three countries evaded regulators to control a major U.S. bank with 297 offices from New York to Florida. All that, it turns out, is just the beginning.

B.C.C.I. internal-audit documents reviewed by TIME and interviews with present and former B.C.C.I. banking officers in several countries reveal a pattern of unprecedented global financial duplicity. The bank may secretly control other U.S. banks. It has used front men to conceal ownership of businesses in many countries. Adeptly

deploying political influence around the world, say investigators, it has enlisted sovereign governments in shady financial deals built on its ability to control massive global flows of illegal funds, such as drug money and flight capital. It has involved itself with the central banks of more than 30 Third World countries and in return for extending credit has become sole banker for hundreds of nationalized corporations.

Clifford and law partner Robert Altman, who is First American's president, are now under scrutiny by a New York grand jury seeking to determine whether the pair were knowing front men for one of the most ingenious bank tycoons of the modern age: B.C.C.I.'s founder, Agha Hasan Abedi of Pakistan. Clifford and Altman insist they were not, despite long and close connections. They were attorneys for B.C.C.I. from 1978 through 1990, as well as attorneys for First American, billing the two banks for more than \$1 million during that period. Clifford, who has long defended Abedi, says he is no longer so sure about the bank's ownership or Abedi's role. "I got the rawest deal of all by not being told what was going on," he told TIME. "If the Federal Reserve was deceived, so was I."

Clifford and Altman are not the only U.S. connections to B.C.C.I. that the New York grand jury is looking into. Investigators sus-

pect that wealthy Saudi businessman Ghaith Pharaon, who purchased the troubled National Bank of Georgia from President Carter's friend and onetime budget chief Bert Lance and later sold it to First American, has been a front man for Abedi. Banking regulators are probing another Pharaon holding—Independence Bank in Encino, Calif.—to see if Abedi or B.C.C.I. is the secret owner of that bank. And a federal grand jury in Miami is tracking Pharaon's and B.C.C.I.'s links to fraud-riddled CenTrust Savings, which thrift regulators took over last year.

Abedi's bank was designed from the first to appear to be financed by enormously rich Arabs from the gulf states. But sources close to the bank say that from the beginning, Abedi offered well-connected Arabs

BCCI HOLDINGS (LUXEMBOURG)
SUPPLEMENTARY BRIEF
The Pharaon Brother

Label Pharaon
Dr. Ghaith P

Money Men

B.C.C.I. founder Agha Hasan Abedi, left; Abu Dhabi's Prince Khalifa, center, who with his father is B.C.C.I.'s new majority stockholder; Saudi tycoon Ghaith Pharaon, right



Altogether
CC

(11)

free stock in the bank by lending them the money to buy the shares without requiring repayment. Says an associate who has known Abedi since he created B.C.C.I.: "Abedi's genius was that he took the Middle Eastern custom of using front men to disguise his real interests and control and applied it globally."

By every account, Abedi was a brilliant banker, and his financial empire was built to make the movement of money as invisible as possible. His tangle of offshore corporations, banks, trusts and foundations is one of the most complex and secretive banking networks ever developed. As a result, his market includes tax avoiders, intelligence agencies, political bribers, arms dealers, narcotics traffickers and national leaders bent on looting their countries (Manuel Noriega was a customer). Former B.C.C.I. bankers estimate that 15% to 20% of B.C.C.I.'s multibillion-dollar cash flow in-

involved flight capital—"unofficial money," as they prefer to call it.

B.C.C.I.'s modus operandi for gaining political influence was as simple as its banking methods were convoluted. The formula: money. Abedi found his opening wedge in the U.S. in late 1976, when he looked to Georgia, home of then President-elect Carter, and the rotund personage of Carter confidant Bert Lance. In deep financial trouble with his National Bank of Georgia and beset by regulators for past banking indiscretions, Lance was all too glad to be put on B.C.C.I.'s payroll as a \$100,000-a-year consultant. Abedi declared Lance was his "unofficial ambassador... brought in to give us a vision of the U.S." and insisted "we would never talk about exploiting his relationship with the President."

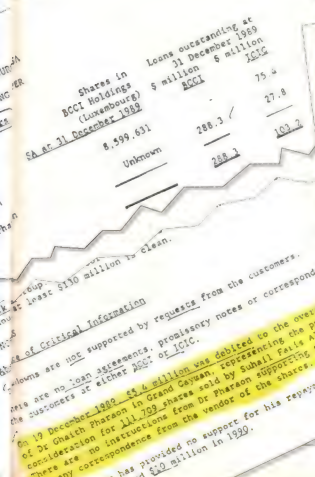
Abedi began playing his Lance card immediately, introducing Lance to his close business associate Ghaith Pharaon in Washington in late 1977. Pharaon, then 36, was a Harvard-educated Saudi who had parlayed royal-family connections into a Jidda construction fortune. He and a group of Arab investors from the gulf had earlier that year acted as fronts for Abedi's purchase of Pakistan's largest oil company. Now Abedi told

Lance that Pharaon was, fortuitously it seemed, looking for an American bank to buy. Lance had resigned in September as Carter's budget director under charges of impropriety and was still stuck with the National Bank of Georgia. Pharaon created a sensation by buying Lance's shares and acquiring control of the bank. Abedi also shored up Lance's still shaky finances with a \$3.4 million unsecured loan.

The Lance connection was paying off elsewhere as well. When Lance resigned, he hired Washington attorney Robert Altman to represent him. Through this connection, Abedi met Clifford, his key U.S. contact and a man who wielded precisely the sort of influence the Pakistani banker was looking for.

Abedi's strategy was taking shape. Using prominent Arab businessmen and members of ruling families from the United Arab Emirates as proxies, Abedi and B.C.C.I. organized an attempted hostile takeover of Financial General Bankshares, a Washington bank holding company. When the Securities and Exchange Commission charged that B.C.C.I. had secretly orchestrated it, Abedi hired Clifford and Altman to represent him and his group. This felicitous combination of wealthy shareholders from oil-rich Arab countries and Washington's most famous attorney

This Price Waterhouse audit revealed a gaping hole in B.C.C.I.'s finances: insider loans and funds that vanished into offshore accounts



Charity As A Front

Former leaders attracted by B.C.C.I. philanthropy: President Carter; Indian Prime Minister Gandhi; Pakistani President Zia; British Prime Minister Callaghan





Political Intrigue

Deposed chairman David Paul of failed thrift CenTrust in Miami: big perks, big yachts, big bonuses and a money pipeline to B.C.C.I. that helped persuade regulators to keep his business afloat

calmed regulators, who allowed B.C.C.I.'s fronts to purchase Financial General, which they renamed First American.

The Lance connection eventually led to Jimmy Carter. When he left office, Abedi lent him B.C.C.I.'s corporate jet to replace Air Force One, donated \$500,000 to help establish the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, and began pumping donations into Carter's Global 2000 Foundation, which provided health care in the Third World. Sources close to B.C.C.I. say Abedi gave "millions" to the charitable project. Carter spokesmen would not confirm the amount but conceded that B.C.C.I. gave \$1.5 million last year (the former President was not available for an interview on the subject of Abedi). That gift was accepted after B.C.C.I. was indicted and convicted for laundering drug money, but Carter has indicated that Abedi remains a friend.

Few think that is a poor reflection of Carter: Abedi, a charismatic personality, has given millions each year to charities and has wooed numerous world leaders attracted to his Third World Foundation. Britain's Lord Callaghan, a former Prime Minister, was a paid economic adviser to B.C.C.I., and Pakistani President Zia was a staunch supporter. While Indira Gandhi was India's Prime Minister, she presented a prize established by B.C.C.I. "When I met him 20 years ago," says a close associate of Abedi's, "I looked into his eyes and saw God and the devil residing in perfect harmony, and I think nothing has changed."

A Price Waterhouse audit of B.C.C.I. completed in March 1990 and a supplemental audit completed the following month—both now sought by U.S. investigating authorities—detail irregular transactions that have caused hundreds of millions of dollars to disappear. The documents also confirm that B.C.C.I., not the Middle Eastern investors of record, holds the controlling shares of First American.

The stunning audit showed serious banking irregularities and criminal acts involving

senior B.C.C.I. executives, trustees and bank directors that have been hushed up. The audit traced insider loans, with funds parked in Bahrain and Panama, and "drawdowns not supported by requests from the customers," which is accounting jargon for money moved out of accounts without documentation of any kind. Bank officials familiar with the audit and other internal B.C.C.I. documents reviewed by TIME confirm the Price Waterhouse findings.

A secretive bank within the bank diverted depositors' funds to finance purported loans to insiders for the purchase of stock in institutions that Abedi wanted to control from behind the scenes. In general such loans would never be repaid. According to the records, \$476 million from a B.C.C.I. bank in the Cayman Islands and \$308 million from International Credit & Investment Co. Ltd., a B.C.C.I. holding company in the Caymans, were funneled to fake shareholders for purchases of stock in transactions similar to the First American shuffle.

By far the largest recipient of such loans was apparent front man Pharoan,

who got at least \$280 million. According to Price Waterhouse, the loans were "\$100 million in excess of limits" and exceeded 10% of the bank's capital base. Most banks would hesitate to lend anywhere near that amount of capital to a single customer. Auditors also found millions of dollars passing through Pharoan's and his brother's accounts, including stock sales and transfers, yet could find no loan agreements, promissory notes or correspondence to explain the activity.

B.C.C.I.'s careful control and influence over institutions and regulators are receiving the greatest attention in the U.S., yet pale in comparison with the bank's activities in the Third World, where by the early 1980s B.C.C.I. had become a potent geopolitical force. B.C.C.I. was especially adept at using offshore branches to help Third World countries frustrate attempts by international monetary authorities to force changes in their economies. The technique was perfected in Jamaica, where B.C.C.I. came to then Prime Minister Edward Seaga's aid when the International Monetary Fund refused to release \$60 million of aid because of unpaid debts. B.C.C.I. stepped in with \$48 million to straighten out Seaga's accounts after brokering the deal with the IMF, and passed the remainder of the IMF funds to the Jamaican government. In return, B.C.C.I. bankers insisted that Jamaica's central bank put its future business in B.C.C.I.'s hands.

Peru provides another intriguing example of how B.C.C.I. came to wield unusual power over sovereign finances. When Alan Garcia Perez was elected President of Peru in 1985, he inherited a nation in economic chaos, owing \$14 billion to foreign banks and governments. The 36-year-old President stunned the international financial world by announcing that he would no longer deal with the IMF. Peru would henceforth repay its debt on its own schedule.

Facing possible seizure of Peruvian assets overseas by Western creditor banks, Garcia turned to B.C.C.I. for help in protecting his national funds. So successfully was B.C.C.I. able to hide the money in offshore accounts that Garcia rewarded it with hefty central bank deposits.

Third World Influence

B.C.C.I. won banking privileges with Jamaica's Edward Seaga, left, by providing the government needed credits. For Peru's Alan Garcia, right, it whisked central bank funds into offshore accounts to conceal them from creditor banks.





ONLY LANIER HAS THE CONSTITUTION TO GUARANTEE THIS NEW BILL OF RIGHTS.

It's a whole new deal for American business. Lanier gives you the right to a free replacement copier if you decide your new Lanier copier is not performing to your satisfaction. Plus we guarantee it to be up and running 98% of the time. You're guaranteed a loaner if your system is down more than 8 hours. And you're guaranteed a 24-hour toll-free Hot Line for any

questions you might have after-hours. So for more productivity call **1-800-852-2679**. And get all the details on the latest American document to guarantee freedom: The new Lanier Performance Promise.



Some restrictions apply. See your Lanier Copier Representative for full details.

Name _____ Company _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____



Mail to Lanier Information Center, P.O. Box 785
Dayton, Ohio 45401 or Fax to: (513) 252-9703

Please send me free information about Lanier:
☐ Copiers ☐ Fax ☐ Dictation

LANIER
COPYING SYSTEMS

TB4191

**We're accused of being obsessed
with perfection, precision and meticulous
attention to every detail. Thank you.**



The little things on a flight tell you a lot about an airline. So you'll notice that at Lufthansa, your drink and meal arrive at the same time. And that your electronic headset is free even in Economy Class. Or if you don't want to eat, drink or watch movies, you can get a "Do Not Disturb" sign. Of course, the way our crew works together also adds to your flight. Things like these show our passion to make your flight enjoyable. One you feel in everyone at Lufthansa. From the wine steward who inspects every bottle to the pilot who gets you there on time. A *passion for perfection*[™] that ensures you the best flying experience possible.

A passion for perfection.[™]



Lufthansa

Lufthansa is a participant in the mileage programs of United, Delta, USAir and Continental. See your Travel Agent for details.

Business

A global bank with so much influence and secret power is more than a little worrisome to regulators. Yet B.C.C.I. has been remarkably successful in using proxies and surrogates to frustrate and even paralyze legal and regulatory authorities. A perplexing example is the Justice Department's apparent reluctance to expand its investigation of B.C.C.I. after the bank was convicted of money laundering last year. "I thought we were going to continue," says a former U.S. prosecutor involved in the case. "We were aware of the B.C.C.I. connection to First American, but nothing ever happened."

When the Florida state comptroller announced he was going to yank B.C.C.I.'s license to operate in the state after the conviction, he received a peculiar letter from the Justice Department in Washington. "We are . . . requesting that B.C.C.I. be permitted to operate in your jurisdiction with the understanding that certain accounts may be maintained by the bank at the request of the Department of Justice which otherwise would be closed to avoid legal and regulatory violations," wrote Charles Saphos, then chief of the Criminal Division Narcotics section. "I was confused by what they wanted," says Florida Comptroller Gerald Lewis. "But when I asked them if they wanted the bank to stay open because of national security reasons or an investigation, they wouldn't give a clear answer." Lewis closed the bank.

The political value of Abedi's connections to wealthy Middle Easterners was

never more apparent than in the case of CenTrust Savings Bank of Miami. CenTrust, acquired by real estate developer David Paul in 1983 and now infamous as the S&L that spent its money on bathroom sinks made of pure gold, raised eyebrows in the regulatory community in the mid-1980s when it invested massively in junk bonds.

When regulators began circling closer in 1987, Paul acquired new partners in the form of Ghaith Pharaon and his invisible sponsor, B.C.C.I. With Pharaon came the presence of apparently deep Saudi pockets, which was precisely the assurance Paul and Pharaon gave when they met in 1987 and 1988 with the Federal Home Loan Bank Board's then chairman, M. Danny Wall, to argue that the bank would be able to meet its commitments.

The result was that, instead of closing the bank, regulators in 1988 agreed to let CenTrust float \$200 million in bonds to shore it up. B.C.C.I. contributed \$25 million of that amount. Bank regulators thus postponed CenTrust's death by more than a year and raised the cost of the eventual bailout by hundreds of millions. In the grand jury investigation in Miami, Abedi's bank stands accused of parking the \$25 million temporarily to dress up CenTrust's books for the regulators.

B.C.C.I. has been in financial trouble since its money-laundering conviction and

has turned for help to one of its original sources of funds: the ruling family of Abu Dhabi and its head, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahayan, reportedly one of the world's richest men. Last year Zayed and his son Prince Khalifa acquired 77% of the bank and pumped in at least \$600 million against the huge shortfall revealed by the Price Waterhouse audit. It is far from clear that even this infusion will save the bank. Among other irregularities, the audit showed \$400 million simply unaccounted for. Add to that a billion dollars of insider loans to front-men shareholders—loans that were never meant to be repaid—plus unspecified numbers of bad loans, and much remains to be sorted out.

And what of Abedi, the genius behind it all? His heart attack and a later heart transplant stopped his direct control of B.C.C.I. in 1988, which proved disastrous for the bank. Already in trouble from too rapid expansion, and dependent on constantly increasing deposits to keep the cooked books from revealing the growing problems, B.C.C.I. could not hold together without Abedi—as the audit released last year revealed. He resigned officially from the bank last year, and is living in semiretirement in Karachi. Authorities in several countries would surely like to get their hands on him. His connections with Pakistan's political and military leaders make it unlikely, however, that he will ever be tried or extradited. —With reporting by Adam Zagorin/

Brussels, and other bureaus

Piercing the Scam's Heart

The Rolls-Royces and Bentleys pulling up in front of B.C.C.I.'s opulent London office on March 14, 1990, could have signaled a routine meeting of bank directors and officers. The occasion turned out instead to be the darkest day in the high-flying private bank's 18-year history. Key officials received the startling news that the world's fastest-growing international bank, no longer headed by its financial genius founder, was in deep trouble. Hundreds of millions of dollars was missing from its capital accounts, and hundreds of millions more consisted of loans granted to insiders to buy stock in Agha Hasan Abedi's banks. Such loans were never meant to be repaid, and now the accumulating interest charges had grown so large they could not be ignored. The reason for the grim announcement was an audit by the British office of the Price Waterhouse accounting firm that revealed for the first time the rot at B.C.C.I.'s core—a black hole consisting of at least \$1.7 billion and perhaps far more.

According to the audit, much of the money disappeared after being passed to International Credit & Investment Co. Overseas Ltd., a secret, unregulated Cayman Island subsidiary known to only a handful of B.C.C.I. officials. Deposi-

tors who thought they were placing money—apparently hundreds of millions—into B.C.C.I.'s Cayman bank didn't realize that it was being whisked into the I.C.I.C. bank to disguise its true origins and eventual destinations. From there the money trail evaporated in a series of loans and undocumented transfers.

Price Waterhouse in the Cayman Islands, an entity separate from the British firm, had earlier performed another fascinating audit. Time viewed an Oct. 18, 1985, *Report of the Auditors to the Members of International Credit & Investment Co. (Overseas) Ltd.*, which said, "Customer deposits consist of confidential ac-

counts which are not conducted as open accounts requiring periodic dispatch of statements. Furthermore, because of company policy we have not been able to confirm any deposit balances directly with customers, and therefore it is not possible for our examination of such accounts to extend beyond the amounts recorded." With this highly unusual qualification, the firm signed off on the accounts of the entity through which millions passed into a banking limbo—including the unrepaid loans used by First American's shareholders to buy the stock of Clark Clifford's bank. ■

**"Because of
company policy,
we have not been
able to confirm
any deposit
balances . . ."**

—Price Waterhouse,
Grand Cayman



GOOD STUFF

When you want to keep rising to the occasion, it's time for the breakthrough taste of Sharp's from Miller.

The breakthrough lies in Miller's patented brewing discovery, Ever-Cool, which produces the smooth, refreshing taste of real beer in a non-alcoholic brew.

So have a Sharp's. And remember, it isn't always necessary to use the glass.



KEEP YOUR EDGE.™

THIS MALT BEVERAGE CONTAINS
LESS THAN 5% ALC/VOL BY VOLUME.
©1991, Miller Brewing Company, Milwaukee, WI

Win one of
three kinds of
CONVERSE
athletic shoes.

No purchase necessary. Visit your participating Sharp's
retailer for full details and entry forms. Open to U.S.
residents of legal drinking age. Void in MO, TX and
where prohibited by law. Sweepstakes ends 5/31/91.

Business Notes

WALL STREET

A Bad Case Of the Blues

Few stocks can move the market like Big Blue. IBM, whose \$63 billion value ranks No. 1 among U.S. public companies, is America's most heavily traded stock, typically accounting for at least 25% of the stock market's activity. Last week the world's largest computer company demonstrated its mighty influence when it stunned Wall Street with a disappointing earnings report. After IBM announced Tuesday that first-quarter profits would be \$514 million instead of the



IBM CEO John Akers

\$1.03 billion analysts had expected, the stock plunged, cutting the company's value \$7 billion in a single day. The rest of the market followed, tumbling 62 points in the biggest one-day loss since Oct. 9. The market lost 89 points for the week, one-third of the decline attributed to IBM.

With 61% of its revenues coming from abroad, IBM blamed an international economic slowdown and the Persian Gulf war for poor earnings. Big Blue's bad news was especially troubling for other computer companies, such as Digital Equipment and NCR, whose stocks also fell as traders anticipated similar earnings declines. ■

AIRCRAFT

The Buddy System

To the ever expanding lexicon of corporate jargon you may now add "risk-sharing partnership." That's how Boeing chairman Frank Shrontz describes arrangements like the one between his company and German

ny's Deutsche Airbus/Deutsche Aerospace, which announced plans for a joint research effort last week. The risk the two giant jetmakers may share: development of a supersonic high-speed civil transport, an updated and larger Concorde-type airliner that could whisk 300 passengers at twice the speed of sound.

Boeing has also signed a memorandum of understanding with France's Thomson CSF stating that the two companies will work together on aerospace products. Such alliances with potential competitors are a reaction to the giant cost of the next generation of airliners and the giant marketplace of post-1992 Europe. Other companies seem likely to heed the new lesson: If you can't beat 'em, join 'em—and share the risk. ■



A Boeing factory making what goes up

COMPETITIVENESS

Can This War Be Won?

The awesome performance of U.S. missiles and fighter planes in the gulf war seemed a reassur-

ance of America's technological prowess. But an alarming report last week by the nonprofit Council on Competitiveness raises new questions about the nation's high-tech health. The council examined 94 critical technologies and found the U.S. leading the



Without customers, Atlantic City has missed the jackpot

GAMBLING

A Tale of Two Cities

How's business at America's casinos? It all depends on where you look. In the nation's oldest gaming market, Las Vegas, winnings rose 14% last year and profits were up 25%, to \$648 million. But in Atlantic City, where gambling has been legal since 1976, business has been a crashout at best. The city's dozen boardwalk casinos last week reported combined losses

of \$266 million for 1990, the first annual losses in a decade. One of the biggest losers, Donald Trump, whose Plaza, Castle and Taj Mahal gaming houses lost \$174 million.

Analysts blame the slow economy for only a part of Atlantic City's dismal showing. Unlike Las Vegas, the New Jersey coastal town has no major airport or convention center and is not open 24 hours a day. Concludes gaming analyst David Leibowitz, with restraint: "Atlantic City can't outlast Las Vegas." ■

LITIGATION

Victory for A Video Voice

"Is that all there is?" singer Peggy Lee crooned in one of her biggest hits. Well, no. A Los Angeles jury last week awarded Lee at least \$2.3 million of the profits Walt Disney Co. has racked up on videocassettes of its 1955 classic, *Lady and the Tramp*. Lee, 70, who sang four parts and co-wrote six songs for the animated film, sought \$50 million

under a contract that barred Disney from making "transcriptions" of her work without her consent. Lee had received just \$3,500 for her contributions to the film.

Other vocal talents are rushing to claim a share of the video profits from Disney cartoons. Ilene Woods Shaughnessy (*Cinderella*) filed a \$20 million suit in December, and opera singer Mary Costa (*The Sleeping Beauty*) has filed suit for \$2 million. Look—and listen—for more performers to follow. ■



The Tramp and Lady

world or holding its own in 61 and trailing in 33 others. While America remains strong in biotechnology, artificial intelligence and aerospace, it is falling behind or losing in lasers, computer chips and robotics.

The council urged Washing-

ton to increase federal research spending for nonmilitary technologies. The U.S. government spends two-thirds of its research money on defense and devotes just 0.2% to commercial high tech, in contrast to 5% spent by Japan and 15% by Germany. ■

Weighing Some Heavy Metal

The Supreme Court rules that potential health risks to a fetus are no excuse to discriminate against women in the workplace

By JILL SMOLOWE

Which matters more, the rights of a fertile woman to work in the job she wants and is qualified for, or the rights of employers to impose work rules to protect her unborn children?

That was the question the Supreme Court faced last week as it addressed for the first time the controversial issue of industrial fetal-protection policies. The Justices' answer, in a decision that could affect millions of workingwomen: companies cannot exclude fertile females from certain high-risk jobs because of the potential harm to unborn babies. "Women as capable of doing their jobs as their male counterparts may not be forced to choose between having a child and having a job," wrote Justice Harry Blackmun in a majority opinion for five Justices. "Decisions about the welfare of future children must be left to the parents who conceive, bear, support and raise them rather than to the employers who hire those parents."

The unambiguous ruling in the case of *Automobile Workers v. Johnson Controls, Inc.*, which overturned an appellate court decision, was immediately hailed as a major victory by women's rights activists, labor unions and civil liberties groups. "The court made it clear today that sex discrimination is not a legal solution to workplace hazards," said Judith Lichtman, president of the Women's Legal Defense Fund. "The Justices struck down a sex-based policy that threatened to deny 15 million to 20 million industrial jobs to women."

Big Business, on the other hand, greeted the ruling with disappointment and skepticism. Corporate officials feared that a number of companies may be exposed to large damage suits once they revise policies that the court has now found to be in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits sex discrimination. Johnson Controls, a Milwaukee-based manufacturer of automobile batteries, is just one of more than a dozen major companies—among them, Gulf Oil, B.F. Goodrich, General Motors and Du Pont—that now must reconsider fetal-protection guidelines.

The Supreme Court decision ended a seven-year battle over safety policies at 13

factories operated by the battery-making firm, which uses large quantities of lead in its manufacturing processes. Johnson Controls strictly excluded women capable of bearing children from any job where lead readings reached specified levels. Company officials acted on the grounds that medical evidence indicated that contamination of a mother could cause seri-



Qualls, center, and four of the other victorious plaintiffs

ous damage to the nervous system of any fetus she carried. In supporting the company two years ago, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that those who opposed Johnson had failed to show how anything less than a sweeping measure would eliminate the hazard.

In last week's decision, however, Justice Blackmun found the discriminatory nature of the policy to be a more palpable danger. "The bias in Johnson Controls' policy is obvious," he wrote. "Fertile men, but not fertile women, are given a choice as to whether they wish to risk their reproductive health for a particular job." Blackmun was supported by Justices Thurgood Marshall, Sandra Day O'Connor, John Paul Stevens and David Souter, who as the newest member of the court was weighing in with his first significant vote on a women's rights issue.

Justice Antonin Scalia would have allowed companies only a little more latitude. In a concurring opinion, he suggested that in rare instances employers might be permitted to exclude pregnant women from jobs where the ensuing costs for ensuring a woman's health care would be "inordinately expensive." But Scalia had already demonstrated his rejection of John-

son Controls' practices. Last October, when the case was argued before the court, Scalia, who has fathered nine children, took the company's lawyer to task for making "a farce of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act." That act, a 1978 amendment to Title VII, ensured that federal antibias protections cover pregnant workers. In another concurring opinion, Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Anthony Kennedy and Byron White upheld the majority decision but allowed that there may be instances where "sex-specific fetal protection policy" is justifiable.

The affected companies made clear that they would begin searching for alternative safeguards. Du Pont health-and-

"Congress made clear that the decision . . . to work while being either pregnant or capable of becoming pregnant was reserved for each individual woman to make for herself."

—Harry Blackmun

safety vice president Bruce Karrh said the company would continue to inform workers about workplace hazards. "The only difference," he says, "will be that instead of us making the decision, they'll have the option." Du Pont may also consider requiring women of childbearing years to wear additional protective clothing in high-risk areas. Denise Zutz, director of corporate communication at Johnson Controls, said her firm would also "doubtless consider going back to some sort of voluntary policy," as had been the company's practice prior to 1982.

For at least some of the eight plaintiffs in the case, the victory was bittersweet. In 1984 Gloyce Qualls, 41, was involuntarily transferred from a high-risk area at Johnson Controls, where she welded posts onto batteries, to a safer workplace, where she cleaned and installed vents in motorcycle batteries. The move halved her salary. To get back to the higher-paying post, Qualls underwent tubal ligation. She subsequently married and now regrets that she can no longer bear children. "Nothing really would make up for it," she says. "But this decision will help other women."

—Reported by Marc Hequet/SL Paul and Julie Johnson/Washington



For the discriminating guest, most Doubletree Hotels offer a luxurious concierge level.



Unwind in our high-tech, personal exercise facilities.

Our award-winning chefs create unforgettable dining experiences.



With every stay, you'll earn frequent flyer miles on selected airlines.



Doubletree Hotels offer state-of-the-art meeting space.



On your first night, you'll enjoy Doubletree's signature of care—our rich, delicious chocolate chip cookies.

When You Care, It Shows.

When you care, your hotels are monuments to comfort and luxury. Your rooms and all your facilities are well-appointed and distinctively designed.

And, when you care, your cuisine is nothing less than memorable. Everything prepared exceeds your guests' expectations.

Finally, when you care, your service is exceptional. Always attentive. Your entire staff goes out of its way to make your guests feel special and, of course, right at home.

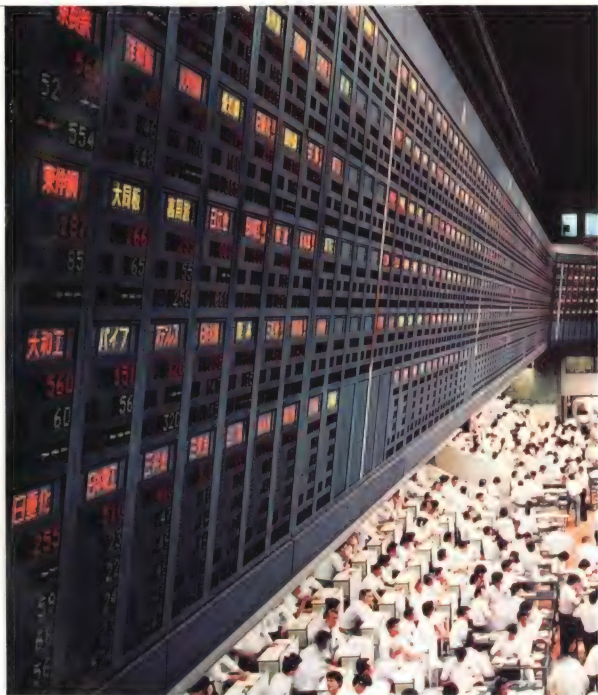
That's the kind of care that goes into every Doubletree Hotel. And it not only shows, it shines.

For reservations, call your travel professional or 1-800-528-0444.



Albuquerque • Atlanta • Austin • Colorado Springs • Dallas (1) • Denver • Houston (1) • Kansas City
Los Angeles (2) • Miami • Monterey • Nashville • New Orleans • Orange County • Palm Springs
Phoenix • St. Louis • Salt Lake City • San Diego • San Francisco • Santa Clara • Santa Rosa
Seattle (2) • Temecula (Opens February, 1991) • Tucson • Tulsa (2) • Ventura • Walnut Creek
Or stay with Comptel Hotels by Doubletree. Call 1-800-4-COMPTel.


DOUBLETREE HOTELS
WHEN YOU CARE, IT SHOWS.



**WE WERE DOING BUSINESS IN THE PACIFIC RIM WHEN
THE FIGURING WAS DONE ON AN ABACUS.** *The AIG Companies*

have been doing business in the Asia/Pacific region for over 70 years. In fact, we began providing insurance in Shanghai in 1919, and our network has now grown to include virtually every major economy you may do business



in worldwide. Our experience in overseas markets and our understanding of local business practices and insurance needs give AIG people a unique advantage when serving multinational businesses around the world. Whether it's computers, steel, textiles or global finance. In the booming Pacific Rim or anywhere else in the world.

AIG WORLD LEADERS IN INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES.

American International Group, Inc. Dept. A, 70 Pine Street, New York, NY 10270



© 1991 AT&T

...you've just gotta listen.

Not all public phones automatically connect you with AT&T. And some operator service companies you've never even heard of can charge you two to three times the AT&T price. How do you make sure you get AT&T? When you make a long distance call, listen carefully. If you don't hear "AT&T" after the bong, hang up and dial 10+ATT+0, then the area code and number. You'll get the quality AT&T service you want and prices you expect.

Dial 10+ATT+0
plus the area code and number.

AT&T. How can we help you?™
1800 661-0661, Ext. 5313

Based on a comparison of toll-free charges and surcharges of alternate operator service companies.



AT&T

The right choice.



The sprawling capital is suffering from its smoggiest winter in history

Environment

Mexico City's Menacing Air

The shutdown of a refinery will only begin to curb a toxic cloud



The people of Mexico City call it *nata*, or scum. It is the sickly brown cloud that stubbornly hangs over the megapolis, home to 23 million people. Composed primarily of carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and ozone, the smog has made the winter of 1991 the most toxic in Mexico City history, triggering a 16% to 20% jump in the incidence of respiratory infections, nosebleeds and emphysema. Since September, the city has enjoyed only six days in which noxious gases did not exceed danger levels. "The atmosphere has no time to recuperate," says Homero Aridjis, president of the Group of One Hundred, an environmental organization. "We have reached a chronic situation."

Last week the worsening conditions prompted Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari to step up his antipollution campaign by shutting down the giant oil refinery at Azcapotzalco in northwest Mexico City. In operation since 1933, the facility had provided 34% of the city's gasoline and 85% of its diesel fuel. But it also spewed as much as 88,000 tons of contaminants into the atmosphere each year and was responsible for up to 7% of the city's industrial air pollution.

Curbing the toxic cloud does not come cheap. The oil facility's shutdown will cost \$500 million, put more than 5,000 people out of work, and require Mexico to import, at least temporarily, some refined petroleum. But even this dramatic move represents only

a beginning. Three-quarters of Mexico City's air pollution comes from the capital's antiquated fleet of 15,000 smoke-belching buses, 40,000 taxis and almost 3 million automobiles. Already the government has revamped 3,500 buses with new, less polluting engines. Last week President Salinas announced a \$1.3 million program to replace outmoded taxis and buses. "Let's leave a clean capital in the hands of our children," he said.

The improvements come none too soon. Since 1982, the amount of contaminants in the air has more than tripled, to 7 million tons. Because the capital lies 2,240 m (7,347 ft.) above sea level, fossil fuels do not burn efficiently, producing more ozone than normal. During the calm winter months, the mountains that encircle the city trap the polluted air close to the ground in atmospheric sandwiches known as thermal inversions.

Fortunately, inversions generally dissipate after a few hours, and there is a break of at least a few more hours before another inversion occurs. As the air grows more polluted, however, environmentalists fear the creation of a lethal inversion that remains fixed for days—like the one that killed 20 people in the smokelock town of Donora, Pa., in 1948 or the killer fog that claimed the lives of 4,000 people in London in 1952. Even with the closure of the Azcapotzalco refinery, both Mexico's government and its industry will have to work harder at controlling pollution for years to come before the people of Mexico City can breathe easier.

By Christine Gorman.

Reported by Laura Lopez/Mexico City

Milestones

BORN. To Valerie Bertinelli, 30, who played the dependable kid sister Barbara on TV's *One Day at a Time* (1975-84), and her husband, heavy-metal guitarist **Eddie Van Halen**, 34: their first child, a son; in Santa Monica, Calif. Name: Wolfgang William Van Halen. Weight: 7 lbs. 13 oz.

DIED. **Conor Clapton**, 40, only child of guitarist Eric Clapton and Italian actress and television personality Lory Del Santo; from an accidental fall out an open 53rd-floor apartment window; in New York City. The boy's death is the latest of a long list of personal tragedies in the life of the 45-year-old blues musician. The city is investigating the dwelling's lack of a window guard to protect the boy.

DIED. **Dave Guard**, 56, co-founder of the Kingston Trio, whose hit records included *Tom Dooley*, *M.T.A.* and *Scotch and Soda*; of lymphoma; in Rollinsford, N.H.

DIED. **Fortunata Sydnor Trappnell Vanderschmidt**, 61, indefatigable science reporter-researcher for *Time* from 1959 to 1980; of a brain tumor; in Sharon, Conn. Thanks in large measure to Vanderschmidt's mastery of complex subjects, the Science section garnered a multitude of awards during her reign. In the 1970s she played a leading role in the launch of *Discover* magazine, later becoming its assistant managing editor for administration.

DIED. **Nick Vanoff**, 61, award-winning TV and theater producer; of cardiac arrest; in Los Angeles. Originally a dancer, Vanoff helped produce a number of TV hits in the 1950s, '60s and '70s, among them *Steve Allen's Tonight*, *Bing Crosby and Andy Williams specials*, *The Milton Berle Show*, *The Sonny and Cher Show* and *The Julie Andrews Hour*, for which he won one of his five Emmys.

DIED. **Clarence Leo Fender**, 81, inventor of the 1954 Stratocaster, the electric guitar whose design has become an industry standard; in Fullerton, Calif. Favored by rock legends such as Buddy Holly and Jimi Hendrix, the Strat has been used to play everything from country to blues to heavy metal. An original worth \$300 in 1954 can fetch up to \$15,000 today.

DIED. **John D. Voelker**, 87, Michigan jurist and author of the 1958 best-seller *Anatomy of a Murder*, adapted into Otto Preminger's gripping film starring James Stewart, Lee Remick, Ben Gazzara and George C. Scott; in Ishpeming, Mich. Voelker, a former prosecutor and state supreme court justice, wrote the novel under the name Robert Traver and based his tale on an actual 1952 murder case in which he was the defense lawyer.



IMPRESSIONS OF THE ALFA ROMEO 164:

"Alfa Romeos, then, are for the pure of spirit, and all else be damned. Until now. The 164 has finally civilized the bestial Italian four door, and we're all the better for it. But if you really feel bad about driving an Alfa that's this quiet and comfortable, just harden up the tires and ride with the windows down!"

VW & PORSCHE Magazine

Artist: Robert Cunningham



Priced from just \$24,990,* the Alfa Romeo 164 high performance luxury sedan combines legendary Alfa Romeo speed, handling and distinctive character with world-class luxury and quality. Add that to the security of an all-encompassing Alfa Romeo Assurance Program[†], and the fantasy of owning an Alfa Romeo becomes a very real possibility indeed.

*Manufacturer's suggested retail price excluding taxes, title, destination charges and options. See your dealer for details.

†For 4 years or 100,000 miles, whichever comes first. See your dealer for details and a copy of the plan.

©1991 Alfa Romeo Distributors of North America

Alfa Romeo.
The legendary marque
of high performance.



To find out more about the Alfa Romeo 164 and how to obtain a free 20" x 24" print of the illustration at left, while supplies last, call
1-800-245-ALFA.

Forging a Shield Against AIDS

Vaccines are in the works, but how should they be tested and who should pay?

By ANDREW PURVIS

What might have been a methodical, scientific quest has turned into a wild crapshoot. In more than 60 laboratories around the world, researchers are working with at least 40 different concoctions in pursuit of one of medicine's most urgent goals: the development of an AIDS vaccine. Any team that succeeds will reap fame, fortune and the satisfaction of possibly wiping out a disease that ranks among the deadliest scourges ever to afflict humanity.

But first it will be necessary to bring some order to the bewildering array of options. While there are still some doubts that an ideal vaccine can actually be created, some researchers believe that enough good candidates now exist to warrant drastically narrowing the search and selecting the best and the most effective experimental vaccines for major trials in humans. Last month at a meeting of the Institute of Medicine in Washington, scientists and health officials began to lay the groundwork for trials in the U.S. and other nations. In April researchers from the World Health Organization (WHO) will begin visiting countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to locate groups in which such studies might be conducted.

But even early planning for such experiments has raised thorny economic, political and ethical questions that some researchers fear could interfere with the introduction of a lifesaving vaccine. "If one of these trials goes badly, we would lose not only time, but we could lose the opportunity to test an AIDS vaccine altogether," said Dr. Jonathan Mann, professor of epidemiology and international health at Harvard. "It's very important that they be done right."





The basic principle behind such human tests has changed little since the 19th century. Several thousand people at high risk for the disease will be inoculated with the experimental agent, most likely an altered version of the AIDS virus (HIV) or some portion of it. The vaccine should not be

WAYS TO TRIGGER IMMUNITY



Many different types of vaccines are being tested to see if they provoke the body into mounting an immune response that blocks the AIDS virus (HIV). Researchers stress that none have yet protected humans from infection and that significant obstacles remain. Any successful vaccine must stop the virus before it can infect a single cell, no matter how variable, a vaccine that works in Uganda, for instance, may not work in the U.S., or even in another African country. Four different kinds of vaccines:

where or under what conditions the invasion occurs. In addition, since the virus is extremely variable, a vaccine that works in Uganda, for instance, may not work in the U.S., or even in another African country. Four different kinds of vaccines:

Whole killed virus	Description	Results
	HIV is killed and then injected into the body in an effort to trigger antibody production without causing AIDS.	In monkey tests, the vaccine blocked infection from HIV. The same form of HIV, at least under ideal conditions.
	HIV is altered by genetic engineering just enough to make it incapable of causing AIDS. But the virus still reproduces and stimulates the body's defense system.	In preliminary human trials, the product appeared to slow the onset of HIV illness in patients already infected with HIV. But safety concerns make this method the least likely to be used.
	These vaccines consist of one or more genetically engineered proteins that resemble those found in HIV.	Chimps given one of these vaccines gained protection against HIV infection.
	Vaccinia, the virus used as a vaccine against smallpox, is safely changed to resemble HIV. Other candidates for this technique include the vaccine used for tuberculosis.	Early studies in healthy humans showed the vaccine is safe and can spur some antibody production, but that does not prove that it confers immunity to HIV.

TIME is drawn by Joe Lertola

dangerous enough to cause the disease, but enough like HIV to confer immunity by triggering the production of antibodies and other virus-fighting components of the immune system. The subjects in the trial will be carefully monitored to see if they have a better record of avoiding infection than groups who were not vaccinated.

The theory seems simple enough, but the peculiar epidemiology of AIDS has already raised disturbing issues about how these trials will be conducted. In particular, the populations at greatest risk for the disease—including drug abusers, prisoners and prostitutes in the U.S., as well as truck drivers and military recruits in some African countries—are not ideal candidates for a structured scientific trial. Drug abusers

and prostitutes may be transients who are not easy to monitor, and inadequate transportation and communications in many African countries will hurt efforts to keep track of volunteers.

Scientists, moreover, cannot guarantee that these trials will be risk free. If a vaccine is made from a whole AIDS virus, for example, there will be a slight danger that some of those vaccinated will get the disease. In 1955, during early testing of the polio vaccine, 80 children in California got the illness from improperly prepared shots. Even if the immunization works and produces large amounts of antibodies to HIV, participants will have to cope with the social stigma of being HIV positive. The antibodies generated by a vaccine are the same ones that doctors look for when they test for AIDS. Thus researchers are concerned that participants in the studies could suffer the same discrimination—in getting health insurance or a job, for example—that plagues people with AIDS around the world.

One uniquely troubling aspect of these trials is that many of the subjects in Africa, and elsewhere in the Third World, are unfamiliar with the ways of Western medicine and may not fully comprehend the risks of participating. Explains Dr. David Heymann, chief of the research office at the WHO Global Program on AIDS: "It is vital that African volunteers understand that they are getting an experimental product that might not work." Without such "informed consent," doctors cannot in good conscience carry out their research, and may face charges that they are using people as guinea pigs. "The problem," concluded a report from last month's meeting at the Institute of Medicine, "will be to avoid what has been called 'safari research' or 'medical imperialism' while gathering the necessary data."

The delicacy of these human tests greatly increases the need for cooperation between the drug companies that ordinarily foot much of the bill for vaccine re-

There's never been a better time to buy a Canon plain paper FAX.

The Laser Class™ FAX-L770 prints on plain paper with laser technology for extremely high quality output. It gives you faxes that not only look great, but are easy to handle and file, and won't curl or fade over time. No wonder more people choose a Canon plain paper FAX than any other.

The FAX-L770 also offers UHQ™ (Ultra High Quality) for utmost clarity on the faxes you send, and Hyper-Smoothing which helps clear up the "fuzzy" lines and edges of faxes you receive—both, Canon exclusives.

Not only that, its replaceable cartridge contains everything that can run out or wear out in the printing process, and can be replaced in one easy step.

Now, in addition to obtaining this Laser Class technology, you can take advantage of the following special offers* if you purchase a FAX-L770 between February 1st and April 30th, 1991.

- **Free 1MB memory upgrade.**

This means you can rely on your Laser Class FAX-L770, even when you've run out of paper. The additional memory allows you to store up to 40 pages of information, which can be printed when the paper supply is replaced.

- **Free supplies.**

You'll receive two replacement cartridges and an 8,000-sheet supply of 8½" x 11" paper with your purchase. So you won't have to worry about fax supplies for up to one year, based on the average usage.

- **No finance charges for up to one year!**

Purchase your FAX-L770 with a Canon Credit Card and you'll incur no finance charges until February 22nd, 1992!

- **Two years of maintenance for the price of one.**

With the purchase of a one-year maintenance agreement, your Canon FAX dealer will provide another year—free. This is more than just protection, it insures top performance of your Canon FAX.

To find out more on how to take advantage of these offers on a Canon Laser Class FAX-L770, visit your nearest authorized Canon FAX Dealer or call 1-800-OK-CANON.

Canon
LASER CLASS
FAX - L770



*Offer available on the purchase of a new FAX-L770. Offer good through April 30, 1991. See your nearest authorized Canon FAX Dealer for details. Offer subject to change without notice. ©1991 Canon U.S.A., Inc.

*Offer available on the purchase of a new FAX-L770. Offer good through April 30, 1991. See your nearest authorized Canon FAX Dealer for details. Offer subject to change without notice. ©1991 Canon U.S.A., Inc.



WESTIN.
HOTELS & RESORTS

[illegible]

Earn points toward exciting Western vacations by joining Western Premier, our frequent guest program. United Airlines Mileage Plus, Air Canada Aeroplan, Northwest Airlines WORLDPERKS, and USAir Frequent Traveler members earn miles at participating Western Hotels & Resorts.

In praise of simple
comforts.

On the road, comfort is not a luxury. It is a necessity.

One that demands the most careful planning and meticulous attention to detail. Acknowledging these



*Drena Alexander,
Director of Housekeeping
The Westin Galleria and
The Westin Oaks, Houston*

facts, the people of Westin, worldwide, take pride... not merely to satisfy, but to anticipate each guest's individual needs. And guests rest assured of finding that special atmosphere which is at once caring, comfortable, civilized.

Call your travel consultant or 800-228-3000.

search and various government and inter-government agencies that are trying to ensure that the product gets to the people who need it most. Yet so far such cooperation has been sporadic at best. A report issued this month by the National Academy of Sciences notes that there is currently no way of telling which of the scores of candidate vaccines are the most promising, since relatively few have been tested against each other in head-to-head comparisons. Unless investigators financed by different companies and by the National Institutes of Health are willing to work together, the report concludes, discovery of a useful vaccine could be dangerously delayed. Dr. Wayne Koff, head of AIDS-vaccine research at the NIH, worries that researchers will be too inclined to stick with their own projects rather than pool their resources.

In addition, some health officials are concerned that drug-company investigators may be ignoring a particular kind of vaccine—those using a whole virus—not because they are less promising scientifically, but because they carry a slightly greater risk of infection and, in turn, a greater potential for liability suits. In fact, some scientists contend that the threat of such suits has kept many major drug companies out of vaccine research altogether. To combat this chilling effect, the NAS report urges Congress to provide drug companies with liability protection.

Perhaps the most difficult ethical question is the cost of the vaccine. A successful shot that sells for an exorbitant price will be of little use to most Africans, who have no more than a few dollars a year to spend on health care. Nine years have passed since the discovery of a vaccine for hepatitis B, a viral disease that, like AIDS, is spread by sexual contact and the sharing of hypodermic needles. But the product has yet to reach many people in poor U.S. neighborhoods and Third World countries largely because it costs more than \$120 a shot. It would be a gross injustice, says Harvard's Mann, if Africans helped develop an AIDS vaccine by taking part in trials only to see it priced out of the reach of their countrymen. To prevent such a situation, Mann recently proposed that Congress offer drug companies an extension on exclusive marketing rights for other lucrative drugs in exchange for keeping the price of an AIDS vaccine down. Says he: "This is the time to make a deal, not after the vaccine is on the market."

Many researchers are hopeful that regulators, vaccine manufacturers and individual investigators will put aside their differences when the best candidate emerges from the laboratories. If they do not, one of the greatest medical feats of this century may be remembered not just for the lives it saved but also for the victims it failed to reach.

Science

Thin Skins and Fraud at M.I.T.

A famed researcher backs away from a discredited paper

The case should have been settled nearly five years ago. That is when an obscure postdoctoral fellow at M.I.T. first charged that a celebrated scientific article signed by some of the university's leading biologists—including Nobel laureate David Baltimore—was based on data that had been fudged. But rather than reopen the experiment (which involved introducing foreign genes into a mouse and observing the effect on the animal's own genes), the scientists, led by Baltimore, closed ranks. The junior researcher, Irish-born Margot O'Toole, was asked to give up her place in the lab. The senior scientist accused of misconduct, a gift-

"new McCarthy," Dingell called in the Secret Service, which began going over lab notebooks with the forensic equivalent of an electron microscope.

What the Secret Service found, according to the NIH draft report, was a pattern of data fabrication that began before the 1986 paper was published and continued, in a clumsy effort to cover up earlier misdeeds, into the late 1980s. The report raised questions about whether some crucial experiments were ever performed at all. Faced with the evidence, Baltimore has finally moved to distance himself from the work done by Imanishi-Kari. In a statement issued

THE WHISTLE BLOWER



Margot O'Toole

THE ACCUSED



Thereza Imanishi-Kari

THE NOBEL LAUREATE



David Baltimore

ed Brazilian immunologist named Thereza Imanishi-Kari, went on to win a prestigious appointment at nearby Tufts University.

But the story did not end there. Seized on by some tenacious watchdogs at the National Institutes of Health, the case became a symbol of the fallibility and arrogance of modern science—and of government attempts to police science. The affair reached a critical point last week when a preliminary NIH report of the latest investigation was leaked to the press. That draft asserts that Imanishi-Kari faked her results and that Baltimore failed to take the allegation seriously enough.

Those conclusions came only after probes by two different NIH committees and three separate congressional hearings over the past three years. The highlight was an icy confrontation in May 1989 between Baltimore and John Dingell, the powerful chairman of the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. At the time, the scientific community rallied behind Baltimore, one of its brightest stars, calling the hearings a "witch hunt" and Dingell a

from Rockefeller University, where he is now president, he acknowledged that "very serious questions" had been raised, and for the first time asked that the original paper be retracted. He left it to Imanishi-Kari—who faces a possible cutoff of federal research funding—to explain what went wrong.

Baltimore and his former colleagues at M.I.T. owe O'Toole an apology, if not a job. And like other scientists currently facing critical scrutiny—including AIDS researcher Robert Gallo and cold-fusion gurus Martin Fleischmann and B. Stanley Pons—they owe it to themselves to take a close look at their thin-skinned response. Making mistakes is part of science. But blindly denying the possibility of error goes against the heart of the scientific method. Baltimore seems to have worried more about a colleague's reputation than about the truth of a junior researcher's complaint. In the end, he damaged not just his own reputation but science's as well.

—By Philip Ecker-DeWitt. Reported by Sam Allis/Boston and Dick Thompson/Washington

Upside Down in the Groves of Academe

In U.S. classrooms, battles are flaring over values that are almost a reverse image of the American mainstream. As a result, a new intolerance is on the rise.

By WILLIAM A. HENRY III

Imagine places where it is considered racist to speak of the rights of the individual when they conflict with the community's prevailing opinion. Where it is taboo to debate the moral fitness of homosexuals as parents, and sexist to order a Domino's pizza because the chain's chairman donates money to an antiabortion group. Imagine institutions that insist they absolutely defend free speech but punish the airing of distasteful views by labeling them unacceptable "behavior" instead of words—and then expel the perpetrators.

Imagine a literature class that equates Shakespeare and the novelist Alice Walker, not as artists but as fragments of sociology. Shakespeare is deemed to represent the outlook of a racist, sexist and classist 16th century England, while Walker allegedly embodies a better but still oppressive 20th century America. Finally, imagine a society in which some of the teachers reject the very ideas of rationality, logic and dialogue as the cornerstone assumptions of learning—even when discussing science.

Where is this upside-down world? According to an increasing number of concerned academics, administrators and students, it is to be found on many U.S. college campuses. And it is expanding into elementary and secondary school classrooms.

For most of American history, the educational system has reflected and reinforced bedrock beliefs of the larger society. Now a troubling number of teachers at all levels regard the bulk of American history and heritage as racist, sexist and classist and believe their purpose is to bring about social change—or, on many campuses, to enforce social changes already achieved.

This new thinking is not found everywhere, to be sure, but in many places professors contend it is becoming dominant. While American universities and colleges have always been centers for the critical examination of Western assump-

tions and beliefs, the examination has taken a harsh and strident turn. At times it amounts to a mirror-image reversal of basic assumptions held by the nation's majority.

To the dismay of many civil libertarians, the new turns of thought are fostering a decline in tolerance and a rise in intellectual intimidation. Says Leon Botstein, president of New York's liberal Bard College: "Nobody wants to listen to the other side. On many campuses, you really have a culture of forbidden questions."

Obfuscatory course titles and eccentric reading lists frequently are wedded to a combative political agenda or outlandish views of the nation's culture and values. At Duke University in North Carolina, an English-department course uses plays and films to pursue the theme that organized crime "is a metaphor for American business as usual." Another Duke offering condemns a heterosexual bias in traditional Western literature; its professor has written about such topics as "Jane Austen and the masturbating girl."

A University of Texas professor of American studies has constructed a course on 19th century writers to alternate between famous white men one week and obscure women the next, in part to illuminate "the prison house of gender." A woman who has been visiting professor at both the University of Hawaii and the University of



Texas describes traditional liberal arts as prone to "a fetishized respect for culture as a stagnant secular religion." Mary Louise Pratt, a Stanford professor of comparative literature, has objected to "the West's relentless imperial expansion" and its "monumentalist cultural hierarchy that is historically as well as morally distortive."

Although most students at most colleges continue to take courses bearing at least some resemblance to what their predecessors studied, even the traditional curriculum is often read in new ways. Valerie Babb, an assistant professor of English at

BULLETINS FROM THE P.C. FRONT

SANTA CRUZ, CALIF. A University of California administrator has sought to ban such phrases as "a chink in his armor," "a nip in the air" and "call a spade a spade" because they contain words that in other contexts have been used to express prejudice.

SAN FRANCISCO. Students who signed up for a fall-semester course in Black Politics at San Francisco State picketed it instead, and most eventually dropped out. Their complaint: it was listed in the catalog under Political Science rather than Black Studies.

AMHERST, MASS. A "straight pride" demonstration by conservative students at the University of Massachusetts in March was broken up by gay protesters. (Last year the event was billed provocatively as the "Burn a Fag in Effigy" rally.)

SANTA MONICA, CALIF. Last week the social-science department at Santa Monica College censured economics professor Eugene Buchholz for arguing ethnic- and gender-based studies "sidetrack students who could otherwise gain useful disciplines or skills."



Georgetown, is teaching a course this semester called *White Male Writers*. Among them: Hawthorne, Melville and Faulkner. The title reflects one of the course's chief assertions: that just as women or black writers are studied as a class that shares a particular sensibility, so too should these white male artists be. However great their works might be, they speak merely as "one element of the large and diversified body of literature."

The flowering of new and at times exotic theory is in keeping with the great tradition of liberal-arts education. But many of the new critics have a hostile view of traditional scholarship and seem to judge ideas by their "political correctness" (abbreviated as P.C.)—that is, on the basis of whom they might offend.

The University of Delaware barred Linda Gottfredson from accepting money for her educational research from the controversial Pioneer Fund because it had financed unrelated studies into possible hereditary differences in intelligence among the races. The review committee judged that by underwriting such studies, Pioneer had exhibited "a pattern of activities incompatible with the university's mission." The University of Michigan student newspaper condemned sociologist Reynolds

Farley for, as he phrases it, "lack of ideological perspective, for not directly attacking gender and racial differences in wages." A male philosophy professor at Pomona College in California has been fighting a lonely and losing battle to get a course critical of feminist theory listed among women's studies. Several schools have punished students for expressing religious objections to homosexuality or, as at the University of Washington, questioning a professor's assertion that lesbians make the best mothers.

Taboos on fields of inquiry are increasingly accompanied by bans on language. According to a growing number of academic theorists, the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech can be legitimately laid aside for worthy reasons. Chief among them is if it interferes with what is billed as a new and nonevolutionary right: the right to avoid having one's feelings hurt, or what Botstein calls a "subjective interpretation of harm." Thus dozens of universities have introduced tough new codes prohibiting speech that leads to, among other things, a "demeaning atmosphere," and some of them have suspended students for using epithets toward blacks, homosexuals or other mi-

norities, not only in classrooms but also in dormitories, in intramural sports and even off campus altogether.

"Freedom of expression is no more sacred than freedom from intolerance or bigotry," says John Jeffries, a black who is associate dean of the graduate school of management and urban policy at New York City's New School for Social Research. But on some campuses, hostility to white males is more or less condoned. The University of Wisconsin at Parkside suspended one student for addressing another as "Shaka Zulu"; yet the university's Madison campus held that the term *red-neck* was not discriminatory. At some schools, professors teach that white males can never be victims of racism, because racism is a form of repressive political power—and white males already hold the power in Western society.

At Brown University, President Vartan Gregorian redefined the racist, wee-hours tirade of a drunken student as unacceptable behavior rather than as protected free speech and, having thereby finessed First Amendment concerns, expelled the offender. Although Gregorian insists he was responding to the whole set of circumstances, his explanation is widely disputed. Says *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff, a First Amendment activist: "Gregorian is engaged, unwittingly I suppose, in classic Orwellian speech."

In an unlikely tactical alliance to ban such activities, Representative Henry Hyde of Illinois, a conservative Republican, this month introduced a bill with the backing of the American Civil Liberties Union. The measure is designed to discourage private colleges from disciplining students "solely on the basis of conduct that is speech or other communication." It is given a good chance of passage.

In the nation's elementary and secondary schools, the polarization is not yet so extreme. But increasingly curriculums are being written to satisfy the political demands of parents and community activists. In some cases, expediency counts for more than facts. New York State officials, for example, have responded to pressure from Native American leaders by revamping the state high school curriculum to include the shaky assertion that the U.S. Constitution was based on the political system of the Iroquois Confederacy. In Berkeley, chicana activist Martha Acevedo, who is vice chairman of the school board, has blocked adoption of new textbooks despite state approval for their multicultural approach. According to her, the books lack "positive role models." She cites the depiction of a 19th century Hispanic Robin Hood-style figure who is shown in one text on a wanted poster.

Perhaps the most problematic development is the emergence in dozens of cities of "Afrocentric" curriculums. All of them legitimately seek to bolster black children's confidence in their ability to achieve and to debunk the patronizing notion that black

Ideas

American history and culture began with the Emancipation Proclamation. When pursued with intellectual discipline, the Afrocentric idea can be inspirational. Says Franklyn Jenifer, president of Howard University, in recalling his own education at that historically black school: "Every course I took was infused with some sense of our destiny or my personal destiny and the possibility of my achieving it."

But through zealotry or inadequate research, too many of these courses have expanded their claims far beyond the generally accepted list of black attainments.

Among the most controversial assertions: that ancient Greece derived—no, stole—its culture from black Africa; that black Africans invented science and mathematics; that the Egypt of the pharaohs was a black culture; and that a racist white Establishment has systematically hidden these and other black achievements. The hazard of such courses is that they may instill less pride than resentment.

Ethnic material increasingly is taught to children of all races; conventional history increasingly is not. In education-minded Brookline, Mass., where 79% of high

school graduates go on to college, parents have had to fight to restore a European-history course that was canceled as Eurocentric and elitist. Meanwhile, students have been enticed into fringe electives with such sales pitches as "Have you ever wondered what goes on in the mind of a voodoo doctor?"

Why are Western cultural and social values so out of favor in the classroom when so much of the rest of the world has moved, during the past couple of years, to embrace them? Roger Kimball, conservative author of *Tenured Radicals*,

Academics in Opposition

The chairman of Tulane University's political science department is no academic bomb thrower. But when Paul Lewis looked closely at the "initiatives for the race and gender enrichment" of the university proposed by a faculty committee—well, he says, "I raised a stink." The plan implied a quota system for hiring more black and female teachers and the appointment within all departments of "race and gender liaison persons," whom Lewis likened to political commissars. Thanks largely to the challenge he organized, Lewis is a controversial figure at Tulane, but the initiatives are now being revised. "I never even heard the term politically correct until last September," says Lewis. "Boy, have I had an education since."

As a result of the fracas, Lewis is following the lead of other aroused academics and organizing a Louisiana affiliate of the 1,750-member National Association of Scholars. With headquarters in Princeton, N.J., the N.A.S. has emerged as the cutting edge of faculty opposition to the excesses of multiculturalism and the replacement of traditional curricula with courses about race and gender issues. One well-known N.A.S. critic, Stanley Fish, chairman of the Duke University English department, has declared that the association is widely known to be "racist, sexist and homophobic" and argued that its members should be barred from committees dealing with tenure or curriculum. But N.A.S. president and co-founder Stephen H. Balch, 47, insists that the N.A.S. seeks only to maintain the standards of excellence that have made U.S. universities the world's envy.

N.A.S. members are manning the intellectual barricades almost everywhere these days. At the University of Texas at Austin, chapter adherents successfully challenged a proposal to focus English 306, a required freshman writing course, on problems of race and gender. They argued that the change would turn the class into a political indoctrination course. At

the University of Wisconsin in Madison, the N.A.S. chapter has criticized a plan to hire more minority professors, contending that it would set up the academic equivalent of a patronage system. Christina Hoff Sommers, an associate professor of philosophy at Clark University, refused to sign a course-proposal form that would have required her to explain how she had incorporated "pluralistic views" into her teaching.

Other faculty members, including several avowed leftists, shared her outrage that academic freedom could be infringed on by this kind of monitoring. The proposal has been dropped.

To Stephen Balch, all these incidents show that individuals can make a difference if they are prepared to speak out—and take the heat for doing so. An associate professor of political science at Manhattan's John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Balch began meeting with a small group of like-minded academics in the New York City area in 1982 to discuss academic problems. By 1987 they had evolved "from a community to an organization" and opened an office.

The N.A.S. is funded in part by four conservative foundations, but Balch insists, "We follow our own lights." The association publishes the quarterly *Academic Questions*, sponsors regular conferences and has affiliates in 20 states; membership has almost doubled in the past year and is growing at the rate of 25 applications a week. Among the roster of luminaries: Duke political scientist James David Barber, Harvard sociobiologist Edward O. Wilson and Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. The reason for such interest, says Clark's Sommers, is that liberals as well as conservatives now worry about an "environment of intimidation" that has forced some professors to tape their lectures as a safeguard against bias charges. "It's the opposite," she says, "of what a university should be."

—By John Elson



N.A.S. president Balch: seeking to maintain standards

A Fresh Take on Fashion

Mirabella woos readers with an eclectic menu of offerings that mixes culture and business with women's other concerns

a book harshly critical of the trend, blames the coming of age of the academic generation shaped by the struggles of the '60s. Its members, he says, vowed back then to transform campuses into engines of ongoing social change: now they are in a position to impose their will. A much less conspiratorial interpretation is that American schools and colleges are dealing with a demographic change that will take another couple of decades to grip society as a whole—the shift, because of higher birth and immigration rates among nonwhite and Hispanic people, from a majority-white to a truly multiracial society. These nonwhite and Hispanic students want a curriculum that gives them more dignity. So do women and gays—and faculty from all those groups. Says the Rev. Clarence Glover Jr., who teaches a course about the sins of “the European-American male” at Southern Methodist University in Dallas: “People of color have always been a majority in the world and are now becoming a majority in America. The issue becomes, How do we begin to share power?”

Courses that explore these questions are increasingly popular among students in general, but the primary audience for minority-oriented curriculums is usually the minorities themselves. Typically, they seek courses that reassure as much as instruct them. At San Francisco State College and also in that city's two-year City College, students can minor in gay and lesbian studies, with such offerings as Gay Male Relationships and Sexual Well-Being. The City College department was founded in 1989, says chairman Jack Collins, because “it will raise the self-esteem of lesbian and gay students who will realize that they are complete people, that we do have recognizable and describable cultures.”

The chief risk in any ideologically based curriculum is that it can promote tribalism and downplay the value of discovering common cultural ground. The very idea of the melting pot, of assimilation, indeed of a common American identity, is under fire in some academic circles. Warns Diane Ravitch, adjunct professor of history and education at Columbia: “If we teach kids to connect themselves to one group defined by race or language or religion, then we have no basis for public education. We need to retain a sense of the common venture.”

Colleges are as subject to fad and fashion as the rest of society—perhaps more, for the client base of students turns over quickly. But few scholars believe the current intellectual battles will end soon—particularly as the confrontation permeates other levels of education. In the process, the American tradition of tolerance in diversity, an uneven tradition at best, may be strained as rarely before. —*Reported by Anne Hopkins and Daniel S. Levy/New York, with other bureaus*

With seven American fashion magazines already telling millions of women what to wear, it was hard to imagine that the fledgling *Mirabella* might come up a winner. But the adult, upscale answer to today's youth-oriented competition has found a rich niche since its launch in June 1989. Baby boomers hungry for an intelligent magazine of fashion combined with informed life-style features are finding *Mirabella* surprisingly to their taste,

els with figures of more realistic proportions. Instead of highlighting fantasy fashions, it appeals to the 30-to-40-year-old woman by showcasing practical, often affordable clothes. *Mirabella's* greatest departure, however, is its eclectic menu of offerings. Fully half the pages are devoted to business, culture and beauty features. A monthly news section dissects the good, the bad and the baffling from the runways of Paris, Milan and New York, and tracks the latest in fabrics, furniture and architecture. In place of breathless beauty tips, *Mirabella* may poke fun at questionable treatments.

The magazine's guiding spirit is Grace Mirabella, who has spent 40 of her 61 years in the fashion world. Toward the end of the 17 years she spent building *Vogue* into a powerhouse, Mirabella harbored a vision: “I felt it was time to reposition the fashion magazine from a book of endless pages of clothes to a style magazine that readers would pick up and stay with for a few hours,” she recalls. When she was fired in 1988 by S.I. Newhouse, who wanted a younger look for *Vogue*, media buccaneer Rupert Murdoch came forward with a proposal that Mirabella found irresistible.

Backed by Murdoch's dollars, Mirabella hired two former *Vogue* colleagues—her creative director, Jade Hobson Charnin, and features editor, Amy Gross—to develop a voice that would speak to mature, contemporary women. Hypersensitive to comparisons with *L'Esprit*, she feels her feature offerings can compete with *Unité*, *Fair's* and the *New Yorker's*. The latter is still a stretch, although recent contributors—including Francine du Plessix Gray and Roy Blount—have toughened *Mirabella's* edge.

Barring a deep recession, *Mirabella* is expected to break even within the next year. Murdoch's News Corp., which is laboring under an \$8.4 billion debt, indicated in March that it would be willing to entertain bids for some of its magazine properties—*Mirabella* included. The news has caused little disturbance at *Mirabella*. “It would have no effect on my business or my people,” says Julie Lewit-Nirenberg, the magazine's publisher. “I'm very sanguine.” —*By Mary Cronin/New York*



The magazine's eponymous director

In place of breathless beauty tips, fun.

The buzz among fashion insiders is that *Mirabella* is beginning to make *Vogue* and *Elle* look old hat. “*Mirabella* is the magazine fashion women are talking about,” says Lenore Benson, president of the Fashion Group International, a New York City-based trade association. “Today women want to see more than just pages of clothes.” Advertisers have also taken notice of the magazine, which now reaches 400,000 readers. *Mirabella's* ad revenues shot up 44% during the last six months of 1990, to \$10.6 million.

Casting aside the signature skinnies and grinnies that characterize the glossy pages of *Elle* and *Vogue*, *Mirabella* in its fashion pages features lesser-known mod-



©1999 Anna Carter. All rights reserved.

"EXCEPT
 for the
RAW
 OCTOPUS
 I really
 loved
NAGOYA."

ANNA CARTER
 Newberry, South Carolina

NEWBERRY, SOUTH CAROLINA, is a long way from Nagoya, Japan. But last summer as a guest of the Watanabe family, Anna Carter found the two places were a lot closer than she imagined. "I had an incredible time," she says.

Her Japanese hosts spoke English and were as kind as could be. They sometimes even prepared American style meals just so she wouldn't get homesick.

But after all, the main idea behind the "Summer in Japan" program is to give young people a chance to experience other cultures.

To live the way other people live, strange customs and all.

Japanese meals can be an adventure for anybody. How did they go down with Anna? Tempura was nice. And teriyaki's tasty. But as for raw fish, especially sea urchins and octopus, well, the less said the better. "Sometimes I'd have given *anything* for a slice of pizza," she laughs.

There were so many fascinating things about the people and the places she visited, though, that she is eager to go back.

"For someone who'd never been outside the U.S., it has really opened my eyes. I made lots of friends, and I'd love to see them again."

Toyota wholeheartedly supports the "Summer in Japan" scholarship program.

Administered by the Youth For Understanding International Exchange, its aim is to help American kids better understand Japanese culture. A companion program brings Japanese kids here. And in so doing, helps foster close friendship between the two countries.

Since 1975, more than 200 Toyota Scholarship students have taken the trip across the Pacific.

The way we see it, nothing broadens the mind more than getting a little taste of the way other people do things.



TOYOTA

INVESTING IN THE INDIVIDUAL

Show Business

Hollywood Dances with Words

Books are coming off the shelves and onto the screen. Are producers seeking more complexity, or just tidy packages?

By RICHARD CORLISS

You can make book on it: Hollywood is back in love with novels. After a decade or so when movie moguls thought that literacy was hazardous to their fiscal health, theaters are burgeoning with films based on books. Best-selling books: *Misery*, *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, *Presumed Innocent*, *The Hunt for Red October*. Cult faves: *The Grifters*, *The Sheltering Sky*, *Mr. Bridge* and *Mrs. Bridge*. Nonfiction too: *Wise Guy* (became *GoodFellas*) and *Awakenings*. Some sizzle at the box office; some fizzle. But when the year's first two runaway hits, *The Silence of the Lambs* and *Sleeping with the Enemy*, are close adaptations of novels, movie people notice. And when *Dances with Wolves* blossoms from the project no studio would touch into this week's Oscar darling, every unsung novelist must feel like cheering.

A book needn't have a critical pedigree; it needn't even have been conceived as a novel. Four years ago, writer Michael Blake had sired a bunch of orphan plays and one Hollywood credit: *Scipy's Knights* (1981), starring an unknown Kevin Costner. One day Blake pitched the star this idea: cavalryman goes to new fort, finds no one there. Wouldn't that make a good screenplay? "Don't write a screenplay," Costner said, pointing to a pile of scripts on his living-room floor. "It'll just end up in that stack. Write a book instead." A book called *Dances with Wolves*.

As long as the cinema has told stories, it has plundered from print. More than half the movies that have won an Oscar for Best Picture have been based on novels or biographies. But the '70s saw the dominance of popular original scripts (*Rocky*, *Star Wars*, *The Deer Hunter*), and producers figured that the nuances of literature would be lost on their newly powerful teen audience. For a while, most best sellers went unfilmed, unless they were written by Stephen King, or else they surfaced as TV mini-series. That's all changed; Hollywood is again courting authors with six-figure options and seven-figure sales.

The trend may be encouraging, a hint that Hollywood movies demand more complex characters, not just

more elaborate special effects. Or it may be further evidence of the industry's creeping conservatism. Studio bosses haven't become more literate. They are simply playing it safe, luring an aging movie audience with properties that have already proved their appeal. Why pay as much as \$3 million for an original script, then pay someone else to rewrite it, when you can pick a test-marketed product off the bookshelves for a tenth of the price?

"A book is now part of a package," says

Peter Gethers, the publisher of Villard Books as well as a novelist and screenwriter. "It gives producers and studio people something to hold in their hands, instead of just pitching an intangible idea to a director or actor. They trust themselves not an iota. And rightly so, since they don't know what makes a good movie, and they don't know how to turn a book into a movie. So they're buying up a lot of books. And from these they will get screenplays that just don't work. Once that happens, they will move on to the next thing. It goes in spurts. Right now, this is the book spurt."

Buying a book also allows the studio to sidestep all that messy artistic independence; the writer and the director have a blueprint they'd better stick to. "Studios don't like to take chances with something that hasn't been validated in another commercial form," says screenwriter-director Paul Schrader, whose sleek, serene new movie, *The Comfort of Strangers*, was adapted by Harold Pinter from Ian McEwan's novel. "A film like *Silence of the Lambs* would have never hit the screen had it been original material. It's just too raw. It could be filmed only because it had been a best-selling book. If you're investing a lot of money, you want some sense that the audience is going to like what you're investing in."

The trick is to convince the people who liked what they read that they like what they see. Readers are a possessive lot; they have, in effect, already made their own imaginary film version of the book—cast it, dressed the sets, directed the camera. They resent cuts and changes. *The Bonfire of the Vanities* would probably have flopped even if it weren't a lame movie, because Tom Wolfe had already created a great movie in the minds of his readers. Most of the popular novels that have become popular films (*Red October*, *Presumed Innocent*, *Misery*, *Silence*) are thrillers with strong, straight plot lines. Here, directors are less adapters than illustrators; their job is to shoot things by the book.

There's a catch, though. Hollywood, like the characters it puts on the screen, wants to be loved at the final fade-out. So *Bonfire* ends in a brotherhood-of-man speech instead of a race riot. The evil nurse in *Misery* doesn't chop her captive's foot off with an ax; she breaks it with a mallet. The heroine in *Sleeping with the Enemy* doesn't bravely confront her husband on her own terms; she cringes like a silent-film maiden tied to the railroad tracks. *Plus ça change*. Movies, even if they have literary beginnings, still need Hollywood endings.

—Reported by Elizabeth L. Bland/New York



The teaming of pure good and delicious evil made this taut adaptation a big hit. Box office to date: \$70 million.



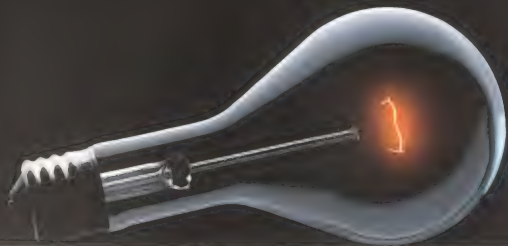
Books can't do landscape. The West never looked so dreamy, nor the liberal white man so noble. B.O.: \$130 million.



The book was a feminist thriller; the movie, just Julia Roberts and a psycho in an old dark house. B.O.: \$70 million.



Wolfe wanted Chevy Chase to star, but everyone knew Tom Hanks wasn't the real McCoy. B.O.: \$15 million.



COMPUSEVE. YOU DON'T HAVE TO KNOW HOW IT WORKS TO APPRECIATE ALL IT CAN DO.

Join CompuServe—the world's largest computer information service—and access an incredible amount of information, entertainment, communications, and services. Here are a few of the hundreds of things you can do:

COMMUNICATE

CB Simulator features 72 channels for "talking" with all other members. The CompuServe Classifieds service lets members and corporations alike advertise to buy, sell, or trade among our over 750,000 members. And friends, relatives, and business associates can stay in touch through electronic mail.

More than 150 CompuServe Forums welcome participation in discussions on all sorts of topics. Software

Forums help with online solutions to software problems. Hardware Support Forums cater to specific computers. There's even free software, and online editions of computer periodicals.

SAVE ON TRIPS

With CompuServe's travel services, you can scan flight availabilities, find airfare bargains, and even



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

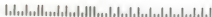
FIRST CLASS

PERMIT NO. 407

COLUMBUS, OH

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

COMPUSEVE
ADVERTISING DEPT.
5000 ARLINGTON CENTRE BLVD
PO BOX 20212
COLUMBUS OHIO 43220-9988



book your own flights online. Plus, there are complete listings of over 30,000 hotels worldwide.

SHOP

The Electronic Mall™ takes you on a coast-to-coast shopping spree of nationally known merchants, without ever leaving home.

BE INFORMED

CompuServe puts all of the latest news at your fingertips, including The AP news wire, *The Washington Post*, Reuters, specialized business and trade publications, and more. Our Executive News Service will electronically find, "clip," and file news for you—to read whenever you like.

INVEST WISELY

Get complete statistics on over 10,000 NYSE, AMEX, and OTC securities. Historic trading statistics on over 90,000 stocks, bonds, funds, issues, and options. Ten years of daily commodity quotes. Updates on hundreds of companies worldwide. Standard & Poor's. Value Line. Over a dozen investment tools.

HAVE FUN

Play all sorts of sports and en-

tertainment trivia games, brain-teasing educational games, plus TV-type game shows with "live entertainment." Or, for the ultimate in excitement, get into interactive land, sea, or space adventures.

So much for so little.

All you pay is a low, one-time cost for a Membership Kit (suggested retail price \$39.95). Your on-line time is as low as 10¢ a minute. In most major metropolitan areas you can go online with a local phone call. Plus, you'll receive a \$25.00 Introductory Usage Credit with the purchase of your CompuServe Membership Kit.



So easy the whole family can go online.

CompuServe is so easy to use, even beginners catch on quickly. And if you ever get lost or confused, you can always ask questions online or phone our helpful Customer Service Department.

Before you can access CompuServe, you need a computer,

a modem (to connect your computer to your phone), and simple communications software. Now you're ready to order. For your low, one-time membership fee, you'll receive:

- a complete, easy-to-understand Users Guide
- your exclusive preliminary password
- a subscription to our monthly publication, *CompuServe Magazine*
- a \$25.00 usage credit

To buy a CompuServe Membership Kit, see your nearest computer dealer. To receive our informative brochure, fill out and send in the prepaid card below. If the card is missing, or if you prefer to order direct, call today.

CompuServe. You don't have to know how it works to appreciate all it can do—for you.



CompuServe®

800 848-8199

Write or call: 800 848-8199

Please send a brochure describing all CompuServe can do for me.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Answer the following questions and we'll send you more product-specific information:

What kind of computer do you own? ☐ Mac ☐ IBM or compatible
☐ Apple ☐ Other
☐ None

Do you have a modem? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Where do you use your computer? ☐ Home ☐ Both
☐ Work ☐ Other

Video

Revenge of the Nerd

Neighborhood pest Steve Urkel makes *Family Matters* fly and gives the Miller-Boyett team yet another comedy hit

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

For unprepared viewers, the first exposure to Steve Urkel is apt to come as a shock. With oversize glasses, pants hiked up to his armpits, piercing nasal voice and snorting laugh, he's the nerd who came to dinner. When he isn't rattling off irrelevant factoids ("Did you know there are 99.3 million cows in the U.S.?" or speaking Japanese with the high school principal, he is making a general pest of himself with the family down the block. He is especially smitten with their 15-year-old daughter Laura, whom he showers with pet names ("Hi, my little Jell-O mold") to no avail. One night he even shows up outside her bedroom window to woo her with an accordion serenade of *Feelings*.

Only in the world of TV sitcoms could Urkel become a sensation. Make that only in the world of Tom Miller and Bob Boyett. As executive producers of *Family Matters*, the ABC series Urkel



Eager beaver: White spars with co-star Reginald VelJohnson

No joke too broad, no character too outlandish.

calls home, and a string of other sitcom hits, they have mastered the art of low-IQ, high-Nielsen TV comedy. At ABC, they are the kings of Friday night: for much of the season, they have monopolized the evening with four shows running back to back.

Now in its second season, *Family Matters*, which centers on a black policeman and his Chicago family, has been moving steadily up the Nielsen chart, often cracking the Top 10. There it usually joins Miller-Boyett's reigning champ, the four-year-old *Full House*, in which three unattached males cope with a houseful of little girls. Not far behind is *Perfect Strangers*, a buddy comedy with Bronson Pinchot as an immigrant weirdo who comes to live with his cousin (Mark Linn-Baker) in the U.S.

The team's newest Friday-night offering, *Going Places* (four perky twentysomethings working on a TV show and sharing a house), ended its season's run earlier this month. But their CBS sitcom *Family Man*, about a fire fighter raising four kids, will return from hiatus later in the spring. And the duo is gearing up yet another family comedy for ABC in the fall, this one about two

single-parent clans that move in together.

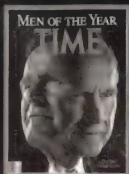
Clearly, we are not in *Twin Peaks* territory. Miller-Boyett's shows are what used to be described as lowest-common-denominator programming: cuddly, heartwarming, undemanding. They usually focus on wholesome families with incurably cute tots and problems that are solved in a few swift strokes just before the closing

credits. Their interchangeable theme songs reinforce the upbeat message. "Standin' tall on the wings of my dream," goes the ditty for *Perfect Strangers*, while *Going Places* celebrates the "wide open spaces for my dreams," and *Family Matters* opens jauntily: "All I see is a tower of dreams/Real love bursting out of every seam."

In the Miller-Boyett comedy stylebook, no joke is too broad, no character too outlandish, no plot twist too cloying. When a four-year-old in *Full House* is told she can be a batboy on the Little League team, you can bet she'll come downstairs wearing a Batman costume (and get a big laugh for it). On the morning of his wedding day, one of the three dads sneaks off to go skydiving (why not?). He gets stuck in a tree, falls into a truckload of tomatoes and arrives hours late for the awe-inspiring ceremony. A better response is arrrggh!

The masterminds behind these syrupy confections bristle at the critical drubbing their shows usually get. Miller, 46, a Milwaukee native, started out as an assistant to director Billy Wilder, then wrote episodes for *The Odd Couple* and *The Brat*.

A Rewarding Equation:



Early Warning System

The Bureau Chiefs' Report: Millions of TIME subscribers count on it for advisories of news trends from Cairo to Tokyo. The Report is one of the exclusive privileges of TIME Plus, a program that rewards subscribers' loyalty to TIME. So if you're a subscriber, watch for the Bureau Chiefs' Report—and watch the value of your subscription add up!

TIME
PLUS

More than a subscription.

ADVERTISEMENT

"IT SHOULD ALL BEGIN WITH A SONG"

Japanese Educator Says Practically Every Child Can Be a Wizard in Math

A lternately serene and impassioned, he looks, in the words of a foreign caller, "like a Japanese Gandhi." But Japan's Toru Kumon, a mathematician by training, is no political activist. Yet, like Gandhi, Kumon is devoted to one very special cause: letting the world know that practically every child can become a wizard in math and just about any other subject. Millions of parents support his mission. Consider these numbers. In Japan itself no less than 1.64 million preschool and grade school youngsters are taking Kumon courses. In 19 countries outside Japan, ranging from the U.S. to Taiwan, 150,000 more students are following suit. And the numbers are still climbing.

What does he do and how does he do it? In a recent interview at the Kumon Institute of Education headquarters in Osaka, Japan, Kumon presented some absorbing details of his crusade. Some of the questions posed and his replies follow.

Question: What are your fundamental views on education?

Answer: A tough question. Let me say this. Ever since the days of France's Jean Jacques Rousseau, the mainstream of thought has run counter to my belief: the living environment makes the child.

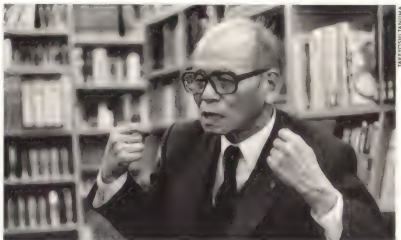
Yes, children are born endowed with gifts that surpass all imagination. Even so, it's altogether up to adults to help them endlessly develop their inborn, and very often hidden, wealth of mental potentials. My Institute is dedicated to doing just that.

Q: Please share with us some of your most remarkable results.

A: Another difficult query. I truly hate to sound boastful. But I will cite some of the findings from a survey conducted in the 1989 academic year among the Kumon students. Of the preschoolers (aged six or less) in our program, 567 were bright enough to solve equations. Similarly, 4,170 of the preschoolers and primary school children (from the first to sixth grade) were found doing higher mathematics of the level taught only in senior high schools. I give you these figures for the simple reason that in math the performance scores could be more clear-cut than elsewhere in the school curriculum.

Q: Why and how did you devise your method in the first place?

A: For the excellent reason that my eldest son Takeshi happened to be no good at math. That was back in 1954 when I was a high school math teacher here in Osaka and Takeshi a second-grader. I began drafting math work sheets for



Educator Toru Kumon

him to do on the pages of my loose-leaf notebook.

The result left me dumbfounded. Before long Takeshi began doing well at math. In fact, my wife Tei was stunned. She was so delighted that she forgot all about her time-honored aversion to math. Indeed she acquainted herself thoroughly with my system in no time. She was so enthusiastic that two years later she bravely opened a supplementary after-school center for other children to share the system. Takeshi had benefited from.

Q: What, in a nutshell, is your method?

A: We offer a set of carefully sequenced or graduated work sheets containing math problems. The students must attain a required level of competence in completing each of them within a prescribed time span, or within what we call the Standard Completion Time. This is a must in our method. Not the matter of whether or not the students score 100 percent. Only when the students have attained that crucial level of proficiency are they given the go-ahead to move on to the next, slightly more difficult, work sheet.

There is nothing complex about our basic concept. The way to make fast and sure headway in math is to proceed to the next level of difficulty only when you have completely grasped the previous one.

Some 3,800 work sheets take our students from simple arithmetic through differential and integral calculus.

Q: You say 3,800 work sheets?

A: No less. But don't misunderstand me. In practice it gives hardly any hardship to the children. The number of work

sheets might seem formidable. That is because our method is dedicated to making it a succession of small steps for advancement in order to alleviate the burden on the students.

First, all of the students have to undergo a diagnostic test given by our instructors to determine where they should begin. For preschoolers, that point of takeoff might even be the chore of learning to draw a more or less straight line on the work sheet with a pencil.

It's the same story all over again with the kickoff for math. The students first learn to add one—and always one—to two long rows of figures. The next step is to add two—and always two—to another two rows of figures. And so it goes. Only when the students have amply mastered the assignment of the first work sheet can they graduate from that stage and advance to the second.

Tedious and monotonous and repetitive this method might seem. But this in fact is a key to our method. So often elementary math amounts to a repulsive mystery to many children mainly because their teachers would think nothing of leaping all at once from the first or second stage to the task of adding five to a random selection of figures. This kind of jump must never be forced on children for it could be at once bewildering and baffling to some of them.

Ours is an almost completely painless formula all the way.

Q: And why do you have to do each work sheet within a prescribed time?

A: Some people persist in saying that accuracy is everything. I disagree because they disregard altogether the vital matter of just how much time a student

ADVERTISEMENT

takes in doing a work sheet. You see, a student's ability to finish one work sheet well within a set time span underlines one very serious fact: the child's degree of understanding is complete for that particular phase. The amount of time a child takes in doing a work sheet in itself tells a great deal.

The longer the time span, the lower the degree of understanding. To be more specific, to exceed the Standard Completion Time is to indicate a difficulty with which the child is confronted in the current stage. Our view is that then the child should review and repeat the work sheet at hand in order to climb in the level of understanding. This helps create an ideal mental climate for advancement. That is why I place an emphasis on cruising speed. The students must complete each work sheet with ease.

I developed my prescribed time program about a decade and a half ago. But I must admit that I have since been fine-tuning it constantly because I find myself ceaselessly modifying the details of our method. The framework of our method is done. But its details are in an unending process of being revised.

Q: What is the breakdown of your Japanese students?

A: Of these 1.64 million Kumon students, 868,000 are taking our math course, 203,000 our English course and most of the rest our Japanese language course.

Q: Kumon English and Japanese language courses?

A: Yes. We now offer German and French courses as well.

Q: Why?

A: Through many years, I have made it a rule to swap notes with our instructors as frequently as possible. At these sessions I often found myself confronted with a striking fact: those bright preschoolers nearly always excel in the ability to read a great deal. What's about as impressive was something else: they read those books long considered beyond their mental reach. Soon I realized that to master reading is to accelerate the speed of advancing in math studies. This realization led to the launching of our Japanese and English language courses.

Q: When did your method first go overseas?

A: That was in 1974 when we opened a Kumon center in New York. Our method has since been introduced to 18 other countries: Canada, Australia, Brazil, Peru, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, South Africa, Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium and Italy.

Q: What else are you doing outside Japan?

A: Many things. For instance, last September we opened Kumon Leysin Academy of Switzerland on a dazzling

mountainside an hour and a half by car from Geneva. About 100 students, selected from around Japan, are enrolled in it. My aim is to see each of these students become a solid internationalist.

Q: How is the Kumon method accepted in the U.S.?

A: There is one major difference between Japan and the U.S. In Japan we are particularly active in teaching at our after-school centers. But in the U.S. the trend is for grade schools to adopt our method for regular classroom use.

At the outset of this school year, there were 238 schools utilizing our method for a total of 22,500 students.

Among the first schools to take up our method is Sumiton Elementary School near Birmingham, Alabama. A large number of American math teachers would know much about Sumiton. I myself visited it two years ago. What I saw was exactly what had been reported in a number of publications, including *Time*, *Newsweek* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Once the Sumiton students begin to hunch over their Kumon math work sheets, the classroom oddly turns quiet. Clearly this reflects the students' keen interest in what they're doing. The school's principal, Irene Black, told me that the students loved it as much as their parents. She noted a change in the students' attitude. And that, to me, is a telltale manifestation of the children's growing self-confidence.

Q: Self-confidence?

A: For a long time indeed I have known one thing for sure about children. The higher the level of their academic attainment, the more elevated the de-



Kumon with his students

gree of their willingness to study—and their self-confidence. To inculcate self-confidence, some reform schools in Japan have been successfully taking advantage of our method. By the same token, there are more than 2,000 handicapped children going through our math and language courses. Equally gratifying to me is another development: a well-established firm in the U.S. last year set an industrial precedent for us by introducing our method for some of its assembly line people. Evidently that is one way of enhancing productivity, a revelation to me.

Q: You have time and again said that to expand the scope of our children's mental ability is far more important than breaking our swimming or marathon records. What would you say is the most effective way of heightening their mental ability at the earliest possible stage?

A: In reply I should point to the magic of singing songs. In the presence of infants, their parents and other adults should sing songs whenever and wherever possible. That would create an atmosphere where infants will find it happy to follow suit.

Lately I have come to believe firmly that the finest start for infants is for them to sing songs as often as reasonably possible. While singing a song, they just naturally end up memorizing every word in it. This helps to enrich their vocabulary and in turn to elevate their powers of understanding. The outcome is that the infants register an astounding speed in learning math and languages.

Q: You mean to say that it all should begin with a song?

A: Yes.

—Contributed by Pan Pacific Associates



Kumon with foreigners learning Japanese language

•Please contact the nearest Kumon office or the head office in Japan for more information concerning the Kumon method.

Los Angeles

Japan Kumon Educational Institute Co., Ltd.
20600 Mariner Ave., Suite 400
Torrance, CA 90503, U.S.A.
Tel: 213-216-3311, Fax: 213-370-0902

U.S. East (Fort Lee)

Kumon Educational Institute Inc.
2390 Fletcher Ave. Fort Lee,
NJ 07024, U.S.A.
Tel: 201-947-0707 Fax: 201-947-0709

Houston

Kumon Mathematics Inc.
1900 West Loop South, Suite 1234
Houston, TX 77027, U.S.A.
Tel: 713-622-8880 Fax: 713-622-7743

San Francisco

Southwest (Phoenix)

Chicago

Birmingham (Alabama)

Toronto

Vancouver

Düsseldorf

Sao Paulo

Rio de Janeiro

Sydney

Melbourne

Brisbane

Hong Kong

Taipei

Thailand

Kaohsiung

Oakland Head Office

Kumon Kyokko Koshon

5-8-6 Nishinagajima, Nodogawa-ku, Osaka 532, Japan
Tel: 06-305-4632 Fax: 06-303-0371

Tel: 415-347-8818

Tel: 602-955-3111

Tel: 708-640-8384

Tel: 305-833-8986

Tel: 416-359-1722

Tel: 604-732-7850

Tel: 0211-584077

Tel: 011-8847-1869

Tel: 021-222-1474

Tel: 02-438-2640

Tel: 03-496-1566

Tel: 07-859-9111

Tel: 838-8806

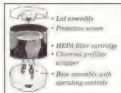
Tel: 02-543-2391

Tel: 04-220-0683

Tel: 07-282-6470

800-872-5200
THE LIFESTYLE
RESOURCE®

Cab Drivers' Secret A New York City cab driver tipped us off about the Wooden Bend Seat's "mystical" massaging action. It enables you to sit for long periods of time without discomfort or fatigue. Like modern-day acupressure, it gently massages your back and legs, stimulating tired muscles and improving circulation. Allows air to circulate so you stay cool in summer and warm in winter. Recommended by chiropractors, it supports the lower back and helps improve posture. The smooth lacquered wood beads are hand strung with flexible, heavy-duty nylon cord. **\$29.95 #2690**—two for **\$49.95 #2700**.

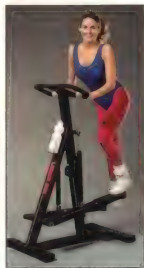


Breathe Cleaner Air The powerful Enviroaire Air Purifier safely removes up to 99.97% of tobacco smoke, animal dander, bacteria, viruses, dust, pollen and mold spores from your living environment. It can significantly reduce allergic reactions and respiratory ailments. Physicians often recommend it for patients who suffer from asthma, hay fever and bronchitis. The long-lasting HEPA (High Efficiency Particulate Air) filter captures and eliminates virtually all airborne pollutants and the surrounding charcoal filter removes odors for clean, fresh smelling air. The Enviroaire's unique 360° surface completely recirculates and cleans the air in a 16' x 20' room up to six times an hour. Mfr's 1-yr. ltd. warranty. **\$249.95 #3460**. Replacement HEPA filter (lasts 3-5 Years) **\$79.95 #3470**. Replacement Charcoal Filters (each lasts 3 months) **\$19.95 #3480**.



The Industrial Strength Lightweight Vacuum The Oreck XL Vacuum has been known only to the world's finest hotels and restaurants. Now, you can enjoy its unique design which uses the hollow handle to carry dirt directly into the top of the bag (instead of under the old

dirt like most vacuums) to maintain vacuum suction power and efficiency. *Just 8 pounds*, it automatically adjusts to any surface. Side-mounted corner brushes easily and quickly clean baseboards and corners. Twin headlights illuminate under furniture. 30-foot cord is 12 feet longer than most. Comes with an extra drive belt and air freshening tablets. When you buy the Oreck XL, we'll send you **FREE** the Hand-Held Compact Vac. Comes with attachments for cleaning your curtains, ceilings, blinds, furniture and cars. Weighs just 4 lbs! Both vacuums come with a year's supply of replacement bags and a Mfr's 2-yr. ltd. warranty. **\$299.95 #4010**.



Step Into Shape! Personally used and endorsed by physical fitness expert Jack LaLanne, this Variable Resistance Stepper provides all the benefits of running, walking and other exercises in the convenience of your own home. 20 minutes three times a week helps strengthen your heart, lungs, and the muscles in your legs and lower back without hurting your knees and joints. Electronic panel monitors number of steps taken, elapsed time and average calories burned. Heavy duty hydraulic pistons provide a smooth, consistent stepping motion and durability. Consult your doctor before starting this personalized and challenging workout. Some assembly required—tools included. Federal Express not available. **\$199.95 #3490**.

A Good Night's Sleep To Go You can greatly reduce noise pollution with the new Marsona® Portable/Travel Sound Conditioner. It masks everything from the sporadic sounds of a snoring spouse to the steady roar of traffic. It puts the gentle patter of rain or the soft rush of a waterfall on your night table. Blocks out unwanted sounds from noisy neighbors, televi-



sions, stereos and nearby airports. It has a 6' cord and uses regular household current. You can work or play and sleep in peace! Compact and lightweight for home or travel. 5-1/4" x 4-1/8" x 2-1/4", 1.2 lbs. Travel case included. Mfr's 1-yr. ltd. warranty. UL listed. **\$99.95 #2830**.

To Your Health Dating back 800 years, ancient Mandarins believed Chinese Exercise Balls induced well-being and serenity of the spirit. Rotating the balls in the palm of each hand, stimulates fingers and acupuncture points, improving the circulation of vital energy throughout the body. They emit a distantly mysterious chime making them effective in relaxation and meditation. Sports enthusiasts, musicians, computer users and health-conscious people everywhere consider them great muscle conditioners. Arthritis sufferers can benefit from this gentle but challenging exercise. Beautifully hand-crafted, these 45 mm. polished chrome balls come in an exquisite silk brocade box. **\$29.95 #1702.**



5 Ozs. Of World Geography This 5 oz. light-weight World Map Jacket features eye-catching, brilliantly colored, remarkably detailed and accurate map graphics created by a 150-year-old cartographic firm. It's lighter, warmer and more comfortable than nylon because it's made of DuPont TYVEK™ - a non-woven, paper thin manmade material that's wind, water, and stain-resistant. This all-season jacket has two deep, roomy pockets and black knit ribbing at the neck, cuffs and waist for extra comfort and snug protection. Whether you're walking, cycling, jogging, golfing, boating, skiing or just hanging around and having fun, it's a real conversation piece...and great to carry along for unexpected weather changes! Machine wash - air dry. Available in unisex sizes. **\$49.95 S #4080, M #4090, L #5000, XL #5010.**

A Watch For All Reasons This digital-analog chronometer swims with you (to a depth of 150 feet), calculates your speed, wakes you, and tells you the day/date. Digital display can convert to 24-hour timekeeping. All functions are powered by a highly accurate electronic quartz movement. Luminous analog hands and hour markers. Stopwatch times to 1/100th of a second. Rotating bezel tells you when the parking meter needs another quarter! Adjustable fit.



\$39.95. Teflon-coated black-matte anodized stainless steel #1051; Stainless steel and gold-plated #1061.



Take Your Contacts For A Spin The risk of eye damage is significantly reduced by proper lens care. The clinically proven Clensatron offers you an alternative to the traditional, "finger-rubbing" method which can scratch or tear lenses. At

300 cycles per minute, it thoroughly scrubs both sides of both lenses in two minutes, removing protein deposits and contaminants that may damage your eyes. Works with hard, soft and gas-permeable lenses. Compact enough for travel, the Clensatron uses two AA batteries. AC adaptor included;

Mr.'s 1-yr. ltd. warranty. **\$59.95 #2680.** Starter travel kit (soft lenses only) includes Barnes-Hind solutions and convenient storage; travel bag. **\$19.95 #3200.**



TO ORDER BY MAIL:

- Send us a letter to the address below specifying the item number, dept. code, and quantity of each item.
- Total the amount, add shipping charge (see table below) make check payable to: THE LIFESTYLE RESOURCE.
- For MasterCard, Visa and American Express include your full account number, expiration date and signature.

ORDER WITH CONFIDENCE

- Most orders ship within 48 hours of receipt.
- Credit card orders billed only upon shipment.
- No risk 30-day return privilege.

Shipping Charge covers UPS, handling and insurance for guaranteed delivery. Federal Express delivery available for an additional \$7.50 per order.

Up to \$ 40	\$ 5.95	\$100.01 to \$150	\$14.95
\$40.01 to \$ 50	\$ 8.95	\$150.01 to \$200	\$18.95
\$50.01 to \$ 70	\$ 8.95	\$200.01 to \$250	\$19.95
\$70.01 to \$100	\$11.95	Over	\$20.00 \$21.95

Canadian residents we cannot accept most orders, please call (614)794-2662

THE LIFESTYLE RESOURCE® • DEPT. TMET80; 921 EASTWIND DR. SUITE 114; WESTERVILLE, OH 43081

A Grand Hotel in the French Quarter.



Hans Wandfluh, our Swiss General Manager, personally oversees the impeccable European service that makes this renowned French Quarter hotel a New Orleans classic.

For reservations or information call your travel agent or 1-800-SONESTA

Royal Sonesta Hotel New Orleans

300 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, LA 70140 (504) 586-0300

Video

dy Bunch. Boyett, also 46, grew up in Atlanta, moved to New York City to become a playwright and wound up as a program executive at ABC. They met when Miller was co-producing one of ABC's big hits of the '70s, *Happy Days*. Boyett later joined Miller (and his then partner Edward Milks) to produce such shows as *Laverne & Shirley*, *Mork & Mindy* and *Bosom Buddies*. "What we really care about is pleasing people," says Miller. "If



Full House's Jodie Sweetin and Bob Saget

that's what we're charged with, the verdict is guilty."

Their shows don't always please enough people: the pair have had flops (*Goodtime Girls*, *Joanie Loves Chachi*) as well as hits. But they have gained a reputation in TV circles as expert fix-it men, skilled at tinkering with shows and playing up the elements that work. Their legendary success was boosting the role of Fonzie, the greaser with a heart of gold, in *Happy Days*. "Basically, the concept of a show is merely a vehicle to get it launched," says Boyett. "What keeps it going is the ability to present characters people want to follow."

Improbably, Urkel has become one. The goony neighbor kid, played by 14-year-old Jaleel White, did not make his first appearance on *Family Matters* until its 12th episode. The producers saw his appeal instantly, and now Urkel is the centerpiece of virtually every show. "I think people like him because he's unique," says White, who gets so much fan mail that his family had to hire a firm to open it.

With his deft timing and vaudeville hamminess, White brings such extravagant high spirits to the role that he is hard not to like. Moreover, his presence has helped turn *Family Matters* into Miller-Boyett's most watchable comedy. His constant grating presence—the eager beaver who sets everybody's teeth on edge—has added a dash of vinegar to the cotton-candy formula. Maybe every TV family needs a nerd in the neighborhood.

—With reporting by

Sally B. Donnelly/Los Angeles

A Rewarding Equation:

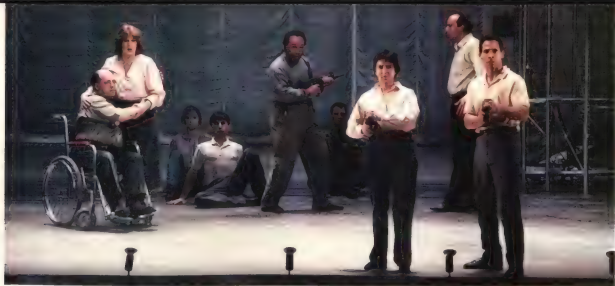


Feedback!

The Readers' Advisory Panel: It's where TIME editors poll TIME readers on today's hottest issues. This unique dialogue is one of the exclusive privileges of TIME Plus, a program that rewards subscribers' loyalty to TIME. So if you're a subscriber, watch for the Readers' Advisory Panel—and watch the value of your subscription add up!

TIME
PLUS

More than a subscription.



The controversial new opera, based on the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro*, is a stylized, subtle, *Rashomon*-like retelling of the tragedy

Music

Art and Terror in the Same Boat

The Death of Klinghoffer avoids politics but takes no prisoners

By MICHAEL WALSH BRUSSELS

Few operas in history have been as instantly controversial as *The Death of Klinghoffer*. To begin with, the subject matter is politically incendiary: the brutal 1985 murder of a wheelchair-using American Jew by Palestinian terrorists aboard the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. Further, the opera is the second collaboration by composer John Adams, librettist Alice Goodman, choreographer Mark Morris and director Peter Sellars—the people behind *Nixon in China*. That dazzling 1987 opera left a trail of argument in its wake as it made its way across America and Europe. Surely, *Klinghoffer* would be even more provocative than its predecessor. Wouldn't it?

The Belgians thought so. During the gulf crisis, some of them urged that the opera's world premiere in Brussels be postponed, out of fear that it might incite real terrorism. When the opera had its world premiere last week at the Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie, security was tight. But surprise: *Klinghoffer* is not that kind of provocateur. Just as the lyrical and deeply humanistic *Nixon* confounded many who had expected a leftist demonization of the old unindicted co-conspirator, so has this sweet, sorrowful *Klinghoffer* upended everyone's expectations.

For one thing, it's no *Nixon*. That work contained big, powerful set pieces: the Nixons' arrival in Peking aboard the *Spirit of '76*; the spellbinding banquet scene; a hallucinatory ballet; a tender aria for Pat and a hair-raiser for Madame Mao. Instead, the

new work takes its cue from *Nixon's* third act, a contemplative series of interlocking monologues that stripped the statesmen of their blue suits and Mao jackets and revealed them for the tired, nervous and scared human beings they were.

Accordingly, *Klinghoffer* is no docudrama but rather a stylized, subtle, *Rashomon*-like retelling of the tragedy. It takes no prisoners, and takes no sides either. On Sellars' voyage, confusion is captain, and perspectives shift like ocean waves. Along with Leon Klinghoffer, truth becomes a casualty. The director has clad the entire cast in anonymous street clothes, and many roles are doubled—now friend, now foe—and who can tell the difference?

"On the 'politically correct' scale, we don't even register," comments Sellars gleefully. "People come expecting machine-gun fire and bodies being thrown overboard, and what they get is a bunch of art." Complementing Sellars' vision is Morris' integrated choreography: a silent shadow subtext that swells emotionally as the opera progresses until it hijacks the action, transforming and finally transfiguring it.

In his most flexible score to date, Adams has erected huge choral pillars to frame the action and provide context. In between, he spins out long, shimmering arias whose sinuous lines deny the listener the security of a conventional verse-chorus-verse structure. Once a card-carrying minimalist, the composer now weds a sturdy rhythmic pulse with a freer melodic and harmonic idiom that can evoke

with equal aplomb a Monteverdi arioso, a Mendelssohn scherzo or *Duke of Earl*.

Goodman, the Cambridge-based poet, writes vigorous, stark verse whose impact is almost physical. "My father's house was razed/ In nineteen forty-eight/ When the Israelis passed/ Over our street" are the first words of the opera, sung by a chorus of exiled Palestinians; later the Israelis get equal time. Goodman combines flights of fancy with earthy images and expressions—this must be the first operatic libretto in history to employ the word asshole and the Yiddish *meshuggas*. Yet, as in Marilyn Klinghoffer's homey piety, Goodman can soar. "I have only a short time," the widow sings after learning of her husband's death. "What can part us while I live? I give as a pregnant woman grieves for the unseen long-imagined son."

Expertly conducted by Kent Nagano, the cast included such *Nixon* veterans—and Sellars favorites—as Sanford Sylvan as Klinghoffer, James Maddalena as the ship's captain and Stephanie Friedman as one of the terrorists.

Some flaws: the comic prologue seems superfluous, sandwiched as it is between the potent Palestinian and Israeli choruses. Singing in English, the Belgian chorus was unintelligible; Goodman's dense text demands superlatives. And one does miss some of *Nixon's* stirring climaxes. But none of this should impede *Klinghoffer's* success. Already the opera has been scheduled by its other co-producers—the opera companies of Lyon; Glyndebourne, England; San Francisco; and Los Angeles—as well as the Brooklyn Academy of Music, where it opens in September. This broad international debut will serve to confirm Adams, Goodman, Morris and Sellars as the foremost creative team working today on the operatic stage, and perhaps on any stage. ■

Bo Knows Pain—and Dismissal

The best-known two-sport athlete in the U.S. is out for a year, and perhaps forever, because of a football injury

By DAVID E. THIGPEN

He always said he would make his choice when the time was right. But his prodigious athletic gifts and the rewards they brought made choosing between pro football and pro baseball difficult for Bo Jackson, 28. For four remark-

baseball in the football season," he said.

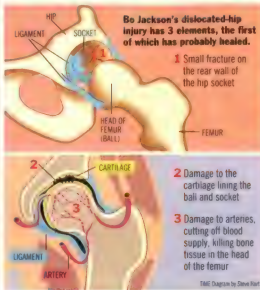
It will be an expensive hiatus. By letting Jackson go before March 20, the Royals were obligated to pay only \$395,000 of his one-year, \$2.3 million contract. His \$1.6 million salary for the Raiders this year is not immediately at risk, but it will be if the effects of the injury persist. And a fore-

Royals general manager Herk Robinson said the team considered keeping Jackson on the disabled list, but that would have tied up more than \$2 million with very little hope of a positive return on the investment this season.

Royals management had made no secret of its displeasure with the physical risks Jackson took moonlighting as a backfield star. Says Royals owner Ewing Kauffman: "It definitely was not best in the long run for Bo to play football. It destroyed potentially the best talent ever to put on a baseball uniform." Several major-league managers said they would never take a two-sport athlete, even one of Jackson's

caliber, because of the risks of injury. New York Yankees owner George Steinbrenner last week loudly announced that he wanted Jackson on his squad, but Steinbrenner is no longer allowed to speak for the team, and Yankees general manager Gene Michael said the "risk is just too great" to hire Jackson. At week's end, when no team had claimed him, Jackson became a free agent.

Bo's departure is the spectators' loss. In an era when less talented ballplayers pull down equally towering salaries and occasionally indulge in public temper tantrums, Jackson's grace and zeal on the playing field brought fans out in admiring droves. "When I'm playing, I'm relaxed," Jackson once said. "I'm like a fish in water." Fellow Royals star George Brett noted that fans fell out of the hot dog



The fallen star: "Don't count me out"

able seasons he didn't have to: in winter he was a devastating running back for the Los Angeles Raiders, and in summer a power-hitting outfielder for the Kansas City Royals. Last season he became the first player ever selected for both the All-Star game and the Pro Bowl. But last week, when the Royals suddenly dropped him because of a serious injury to his hip in a football game two months earlier, the incredible career of the two-sport superstar seemed in grave jeopardy, and quite possibly at a premature end.

"Don't count me out," Jackson said at a press conference last week in Haines City, Fla., where the Royals were in spring training. But also don't count on him for at least a year. While physicians disagreed on whether he could ever recover from his injury, most agreed that he would be out of baseball and football for that long, if not longer, and that if he returned, he most probably would not regain peak form. In general, Jackson stayed mum about his plans. "I don't talk about football in the baseball season, and I don't talk about

shortened sports career may truncate his higher-paying second job as the endorser of Diet Pepsi, AT&T and various sports medicines—plus his starring role in Nike's "Bo Knows..." commercials. All that off-the-field effort brings in about \$5 million a year.

Jackson's injury occurred during the A.F.C. semifinal play-off game between Los Angeles and Cincinnati when he twisted his leg trying to escape the tackle of a linebacker. After he was helped from the field, the injury was diagnosed as a left-hip fracture-dislocation. When another exam two weeks ago showed that Jackson's hip cartilage had deteriorated further, the Royals' team doctor pronounced the prognosis for Jackson's return "uncertain."

As shocking as Jackson's release was, it made sense—and dollars—for the Royals. Because Jackson's injury occurred on the gridiron, the Royals have a contractual right to release him. If the damage had occurred on a baseball diamond, the Royals would have had to pay his full salary,

lines and hurried back to their seats when Jackson stepped to the plate. They were frequently drafted. In July 1988, he hit a blast off Boston's Oil Can Boyd that many said was the longest home run ever hit in Fenway Park. Last year Jackson hit a middling .272 and, despite missing 51 games, still led the Royals with 28 homers and 78 runs batted in.

One veteran American League team physician remarked that Jackson's stocky, heavily muscled physique was the only one that had made him gawk. But other players are bigger, stronger or faster, making the two-sport athlete a rare and endangered species. The only other active two-sport pro, Atlanta Falcons defensive back Deion Sanders, was dropped by the Yankees last season after several trips to the minors, but he has since been picked up by the Braves as an outfielder. There is an old sports dictum that Jackson should perhaps have studied with greater care: baseball pays more, and you get hit less.

—With reporting by Staci D. Kramer/
St. Louis and Jeanne McDowell/Los Angeles

People

By SOPHRONIA SCOTT/Reported by Andrea Sachs



A Cash Cow for Sony?

"If anybody could exhibit the potential of being the greatest selling superstar of all time, **Michael Jackson** can." You better believe it; Japan's Sony Software is betting it'll make a cool \$1 billion that it's so. Those words of praise came from Sony Music president Tommy Mottola last week as Sony and the Gloved One signed perhaps the biggest show-biz deal ever. Anxious to stockpile entertainment software for its growing

audio-video empire (Sony Music, Columbia Pictures), Sony sought and got a long-term multimedia contract with Jackson that includes film and music projects. Sony figures that since his albums *Thriller* and *Bad* made about \$700 million in retail sales alone, the new deal should have billion-dollar potential. Insiders gasped at the gamble, but it squelched rumors that Jackson was looking to sign on elsewhere.

Cashing In

When the high-rolling **DONALD and IVANA TRUMP** decided to split last year, she wanted to shoot for the jackpot: half of his supposed \$500 million fortune. But since then "the Donald's" financial dealings have soured, and Ivana realized she had better take what she could while there was something left. After months of haggling—Donald grumbled that Ivana was "trying to nickel-and-dime me to death"—they finally reached an agreement last week. Her haul: \$10 million in cash, the 47-room family house in Connecticut, a Manhattan apartment and \$300,000 a year in child support. Given Donald's downfall, that's no small stack of chips to take away from the table.



Hello Dalai!

Declaring the International Year of Tibet, the **Dalai Lama** is off on a multicountry journey that brings him to the U.S. this week. Promoting Tibetan culture and calling attention to China's occupation of his country, the Tibetan leader-in-exile will talk about Buddhism to an expected crowd of 10,000 at Cornell University and meet with members of Congress in Washington. He'll also go to San Francisco, where he'll see his friend, Buddhist actor Richard Gere, whose Tibet House group organized the activities. The trip, Gere says, will "highlight the plight of



the Tibetans, who for 40 years have endured an extremely brutal occupation."

Law Scribe

So how many times will author **John Grisham** be compared to Scott Turow before he gets a name of his own? Maybe not too many, now that his second novel, *The Firm*, about a hot young lawyer ensnared by a law firm with Mafia ties, is zooming up the best-seller lists. The Mis-



issippi native spent 10 years practicing law before hunkering down to write full time. "It was fairly easy to close the office down and run all the clients away," says Grisham, 36. The switch freed him to cash in on the public's hunger for law-related fare. Paramount paid Grisham \$600,000 for the book's movie rights even before he had a publishing deal.

Street Wise

"Not to put *Pretty Woman* down, but it was a caramelized view of prostitution," says actress **THERESA RUSSELL**, 33. She'll present the gritty side in her fall film, *Whore*, which explores the depths of the world's oldest profession. The whore Russell portrays is Liz, a character made up from the stories of real-life hookers. She considered the role so brutally honest that at first she was afraid to take it. "It depicts the most horrid existence," she says. Her experience reinforced Russell's belief that prostitution should be legalized. "To pretend it doesn't exist is crazy."



Essay

Lance Morrow

A Moment for the Dead

The Pentagon ordered 16,099 body bags to be shipped to the Persian Gulf to bring home dead Americans. In the end, 15,773 of the bags were not necessary.

The Iraqi army would have needed—what? One hundred thousand body bags? More? No one knows or will ever know. No one has counted the Iraqi corpses. Many of them were buried in the sand, without ceremony; some have been taken care of by cultures.

That so few soldiers in the coalition died somehow seemed to Americans a vindication. It was even a return of their shining self, of Buffalo Bill, who (e.e. cummings wrote) could "ride a watersmooth-silver stallion and break onetwothreefourfive pigeonsjustlikethat." The unspoken text was this: the nation had recovered its immunity, its divine favor, or anyway its gift for doing things right. The victory was as satisfying as anything Americans have done together since landing on the moon.

Would it be seemly to have a moment of silence for the Iraqi corpses?

It is not inconsequential to kill 100,000 people. That much life suddenly and violently extinguished must leave a ragged hole somewhere in the universe. One looks for special effects of a metaphysical kind to attend so much death—the whoosh of all those souls departing. But many of them died ingloriously, like road kill, full of their disgrace, facedown with the loot scattered around them. The conquered often die ignominiously. The victors have not given them much thought.

Still, killing 100,000 people is a serious thing to do. It is not equivalent to shooting a rabid dog, which is, down deep, what Americans feel the war was all about, exterminating a beast with rabies. All those 100,000 men were not megalomaniacs, torturers and murderers. They did not all commit atrocities in Kuwait. They were ordinary people: peasants, truck drivers, students and so on. They had the love of their families, the dignity of their lives and work. They cared as little for politics, or less, than most people in the world. They were, precisely, not Saddam Hussein. Which means, since Saddam was the coalition's one true target in all of this, that those 100,000 corpses are, so to speak, collateral damage. The famous smart bombs did not find the one man they were seeking.

The secret of much murder and evil-doing is to dehumanize the victim, to make him alien, to make him Other, a different species. When we have done that, we have prepared ourselves to kill him, for to kill the Other, to kill a snake, a roach, a pest, a Jew, a scorpion, a black, a centipede, a Palestinian, a hyena, an Iraqi, a wild dog, an Israeli... it's O.K.

If Saddam Hussein was a poisonous snake in the desert, and he had 1 million poisonous snakes arrayed around him, then it was good sense to drop bombs and kill 100,000 snakes and thus turn back the snake menace.

But, of course, the 100,000 Iraqis were not snakes.

To kill 100,000 people and to feel no pain at having done

so may be dangerous to those who did the killing. It hints at an impaired humanity, a defect like a gate through which other deaths may enter, deaths no one had counted on. The unquiet dead have many ways of haunting—particularly in the Middle East, which has been accumulating the grievances of the dead for thousands of years.

In any case, there is not, or there should not be, such a thing as killing without guilt—especially not mass killings without guilt. When people kill without remorse, we call them insane. We call them maniacs, serial murderers.

Americans almost unconsciously regard the victory as a kind of moral cleansing: the right thing. But reality and horror have not been rescinded. All killing is unclean. It has upon it a stain that technology cannot annul or override. Americans are not omnipotent, not all virtuous, they should remind themselves, they do not bestride the world. Vainglory is one of the sillier postures: it invariably precedes the rude awakening. It is the sort of whooping glee that, in Daffy Duck cartoons, goeth before the fall.

Did the dead Iraqis need to be killed?

In the circumstances, yes.

Having killed them, how do the victors feel?

They feel great.

In Texas lore, there is a defense for murder that goes like this: "He needed killing." Is there anything wrong with feeling great about killing 100,000 Iraqis who needed killing?

There is nothing wrong with feeling relieved. It is not required, it is not human nature, to mourn the soldiers who were arrayed to kill you. Killing the Iraqis meant that Americans and their partners did

not have to face them on the battlefield and maybe die. As it was, the Iraqis who were left in the field surrendered almost without a fight.

Like some martial equivalent of the Reagan years, the victory in the gulf makes Americans feel better about themselves. It was splendid and necessary but also unreal—an action-adventure that, like most movies, was divided into three chapters, with decisive turning points: 1) the Iraqi invasion and the buildup of coalition forces; 2) the onset of the air war; and 3) the ground war and its denouement. The victory came with such merciless ease that on the winners' side, the deeper levels of experience (nobility, sacrifice, endurance and so on) were not engaged. The victors now celebrate mostly their relief that they have escaped what might have been. By the Fourth of July, the glorious moment will seem a long time ago.

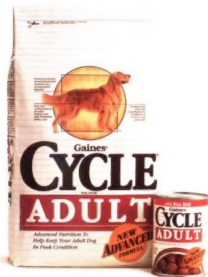
The prospects going into the war were horrifying: the fourth largest army in the world, commanded by a thug whom we thought cunning at the time and even invested with satanic powers. Saddam was armed with chemical weapons and was working on the nuclear kind. All those dark possibilities gave the coalition, in effect, a license to kill. The killing was very well done. I hope it does not give us too much pleasure. ■



You Used To Have To Go To A Veterinarian To Get Nutrition This Advanced.



Now You Don't.



Introducing New Reformulated Cycle.[®]

New Cycle[®] has been reformulated to be unsurpassed in its nutrition.

Veterinary nutritionists have developed a precise blend of over forty nutrients so New Cycle provides the most advanced nutrition you can buy for each stage in a dog's life.

With New Cycle, you can be confident your dog is getting all the nutrition it needs. Nutrition that's unsurpassed by any other dog food you can buy at the veterinarian, grocery store, or pet food store.

Ask your veterinarian about the advanced nutrition of New Cycle.



NEW CYCLE[®]
A VETERINARIAN'S IDEA OF
ADVANCED NUTRITION.



Your score is up.
Your score is down.
But one thing is sure.

Carlton is lowest.



U.S. Gov't. Test Method confirms of all king soft packs:

is lowest.

With a taste
that's right.

1 mg. tar. 0.1 mg. nic.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Cigarette
Smoke Contains Carbon Monoxide.